



GOLDEN BOKE
OF MARCUS
AURELIUS
—
BOURCHIER

1532





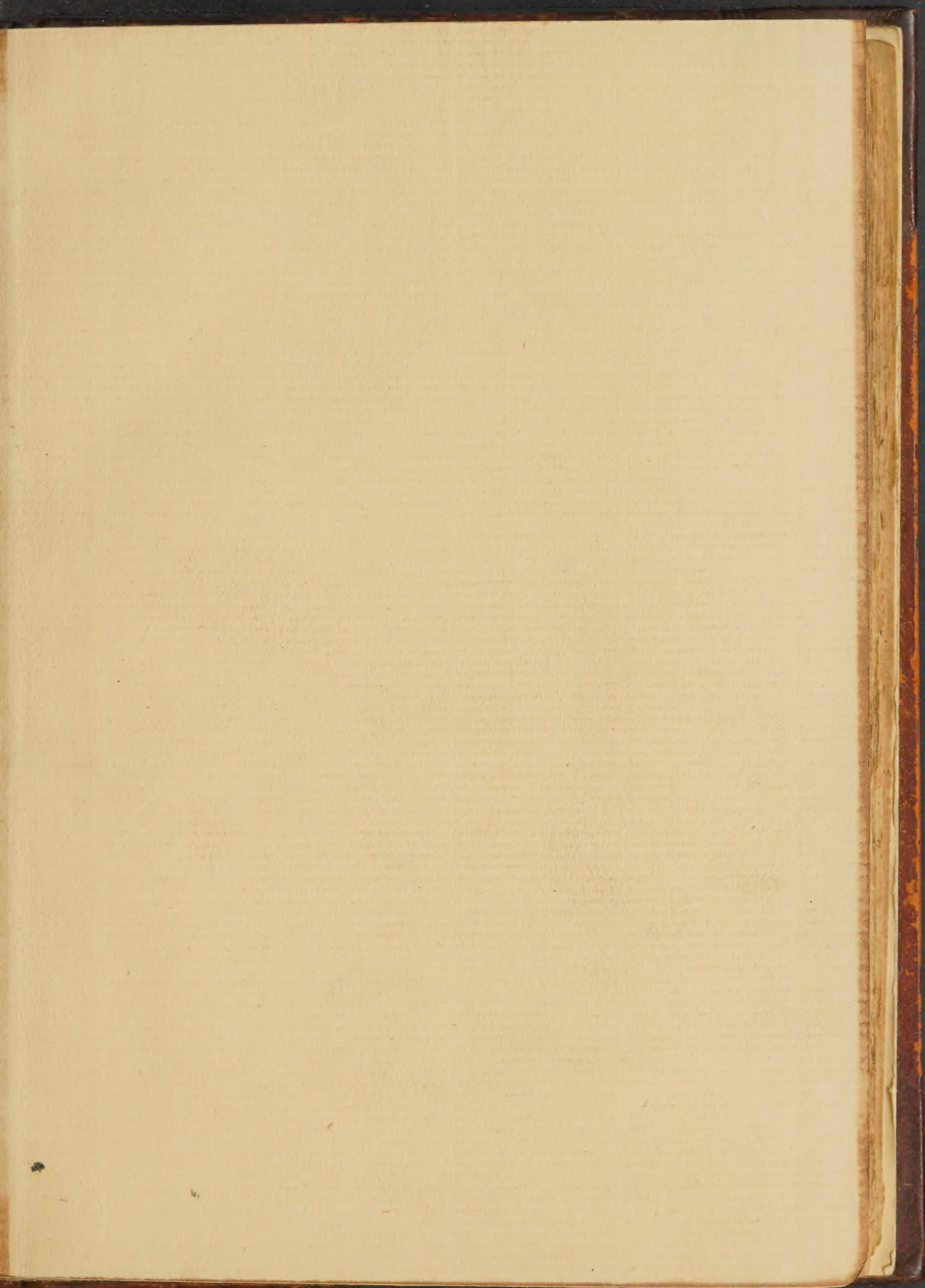


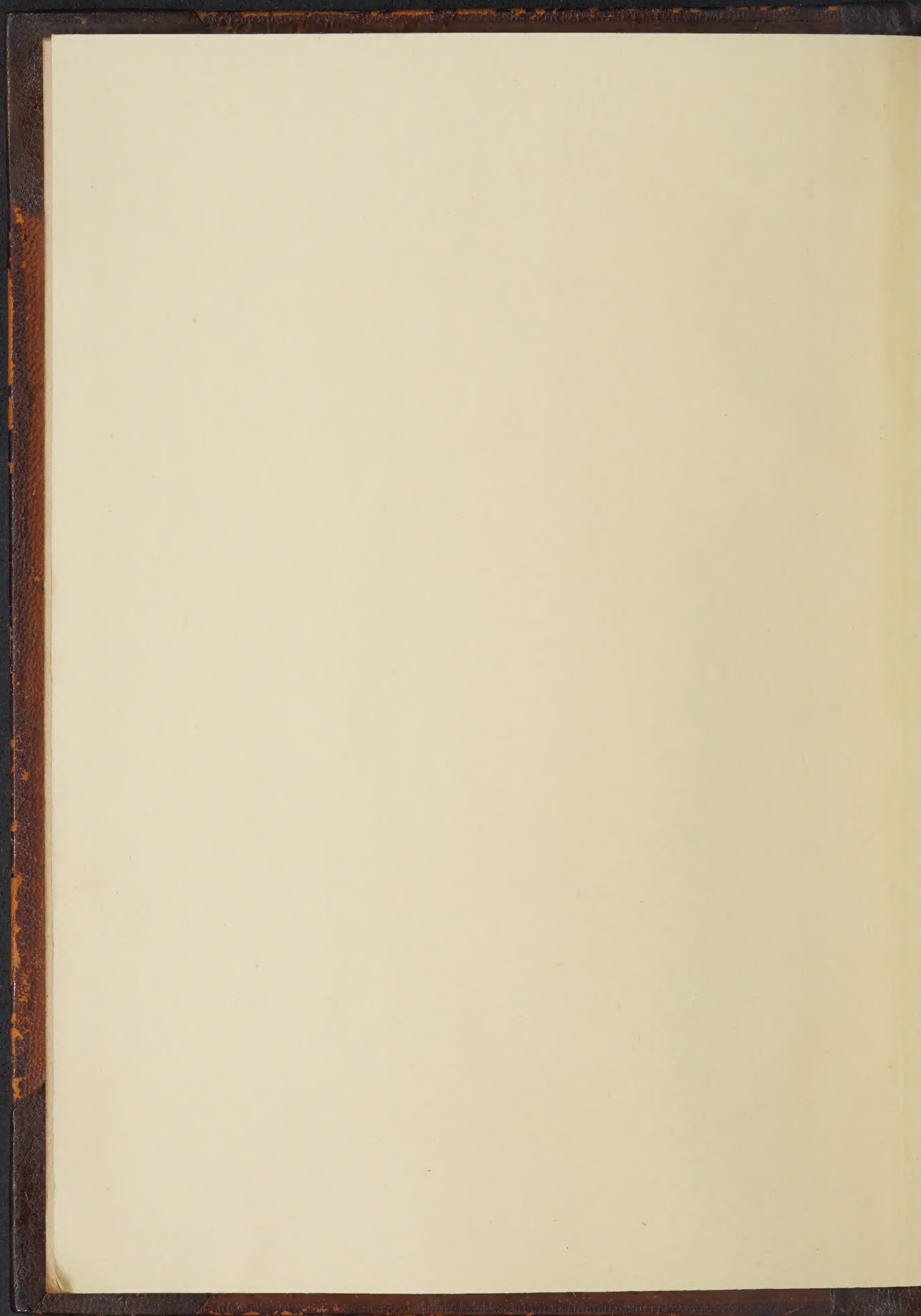
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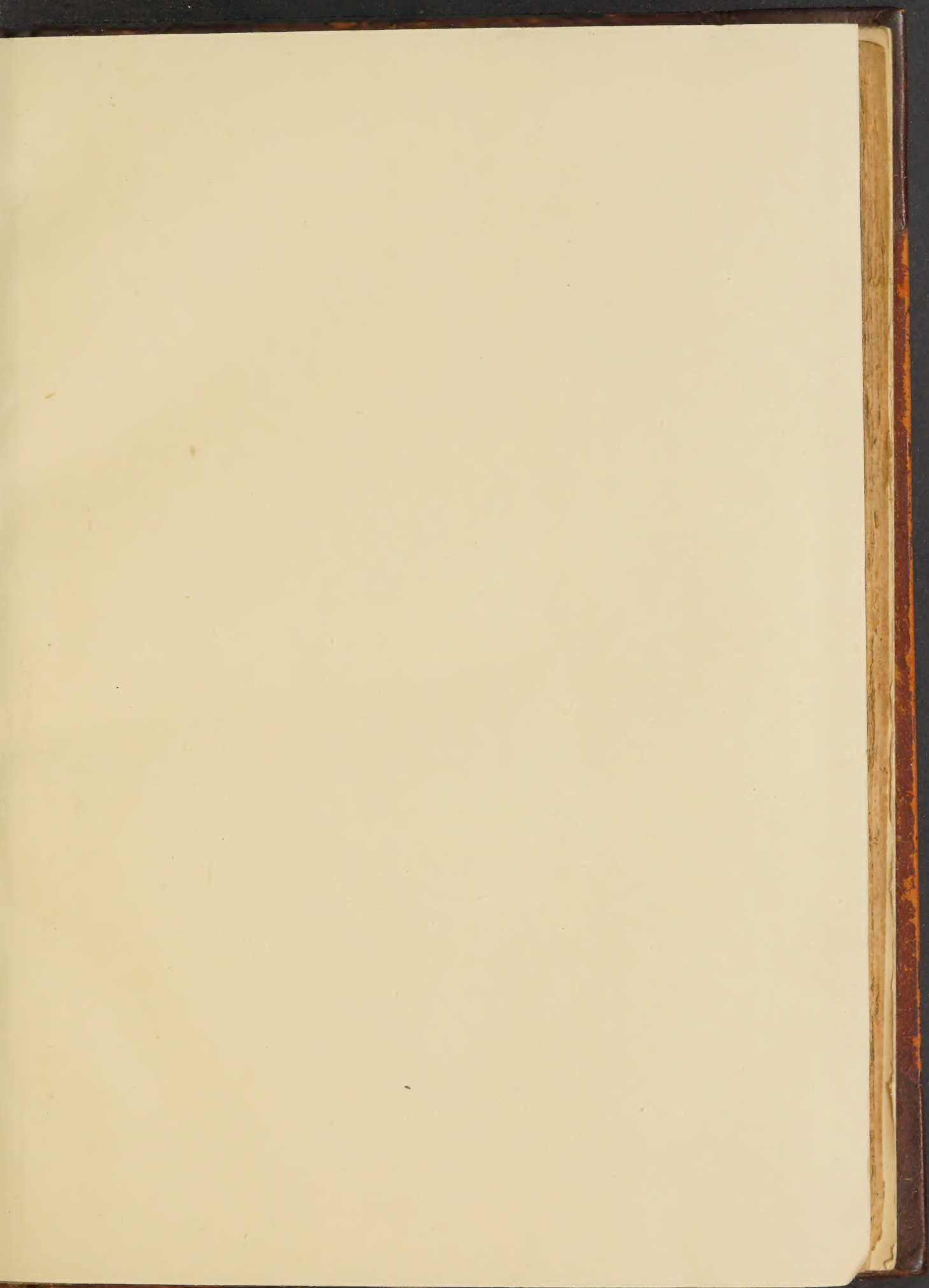


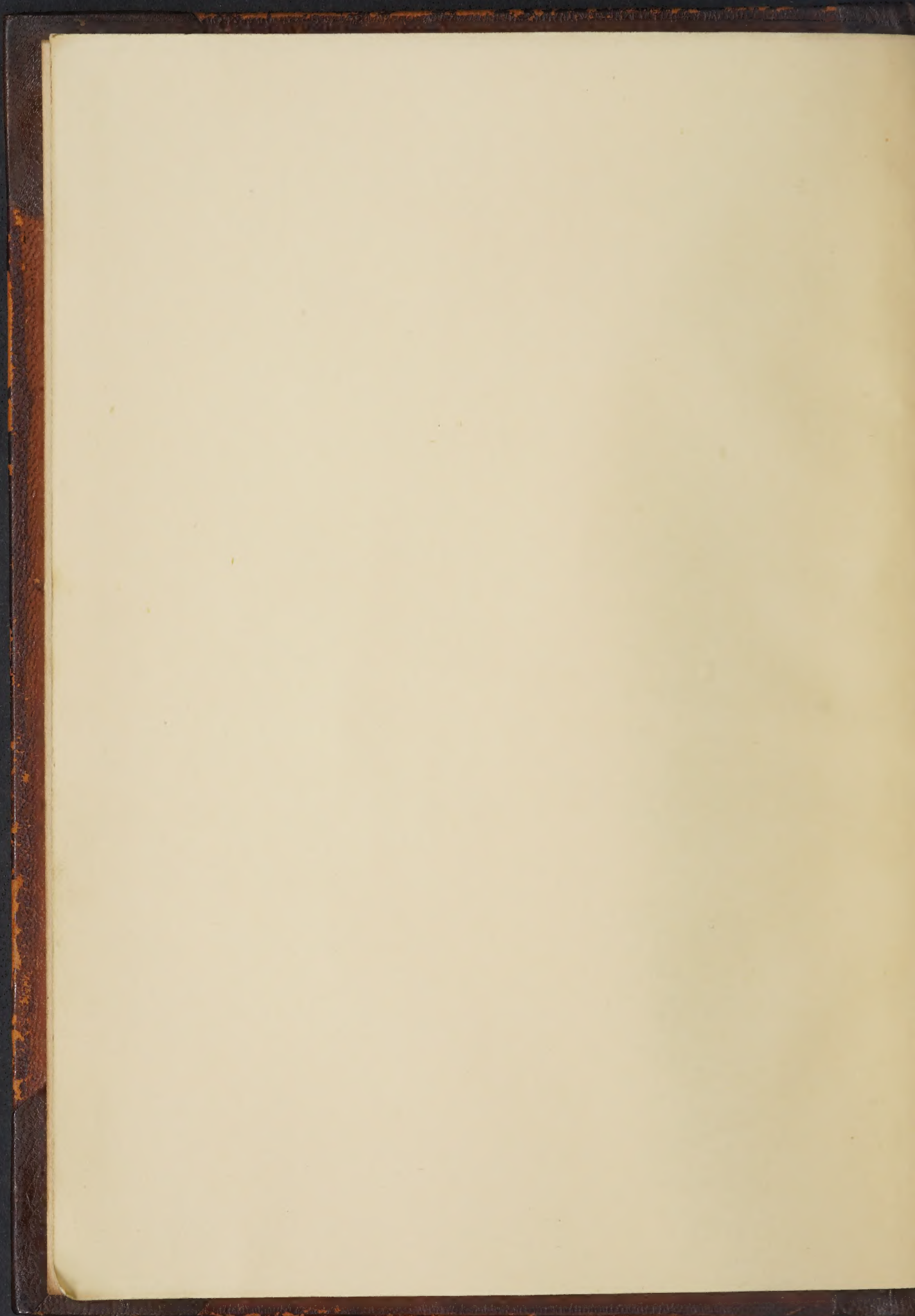
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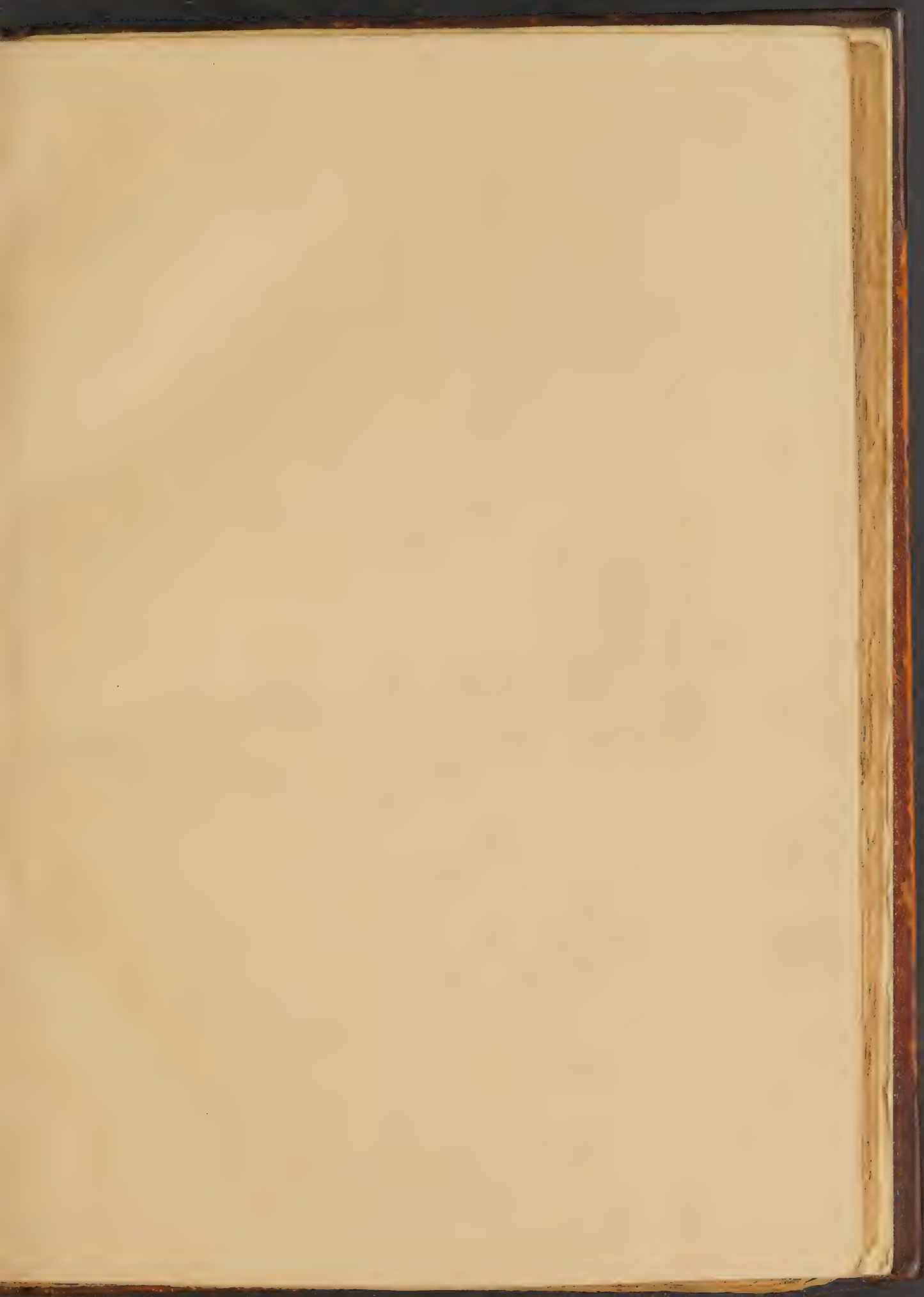












R094.1 A2

THE GOL
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BOKE OF MARCVS
AVRELIVS EMPE,
ROVR AND
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ANNO. M.D.XXXV.





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THE PROLOGVE.

S the time is an inuentour of nouelties, and
a register certayne of thynges auncient, and
at the ende tyme gyueth ende to that suffreth
ende: The trouthe all onely amonge al thin-
ges is priuiledged, in suche wyse, that whan
cometh to haue broken her wynges, than as im-
maketh her force, There is nothyng so entier,
finissheth, noz nothyng so hole, but that is wery,
nge so stronge, but that breaketh, noz nothyng
pte, but that corrupteth. So all these thynges
ueth and burieth, but onely trouthe, the whiche
me and of all thyng that is in the tyme) trium-
pyther to be fauoured of the good, noz to be per-
if the ylle, may be, that somtyme trouthe may be
and hydde, but whan it is displeased, and wyl di-
han at the laste she cometh to a good porte, and
inde. The fruites in the spryngynge tyme haue
uertue to gyue sustynauce noz perfite swetenes
e the taste of them that eateth therof: but than
he season of sommer, and haruest cometh, whi-
dothe better rype them, and than that that we
othe profyte vs, the pzoof therof is ryght saue-
and gyueth the moze force and vertue, and the
is the taste. I wyl in these firste wordes saye,
he fyrste aeges men weremoze esteemed by theyr
stomes and delicatenes, than they were after re-
by their grosse and rude vnderstondynges. Cer-
some of the auncient philosophers, I speake of
the auncient, as welle Caldees as Grekes, who
sted them selues to regarde the sterres of the he-
d surmounted the hyghe mounte of Olympus,
contemplete and regarde the influences of the
A pla-

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planettes in the heuen: I dare well saye, that t^h
rather merited pardon by their ignoraunces, th^{an}
synge or grace by their wysedome. These were
that wolde serche the trouthe of the elementes
uen, and yet they were the firste that dyd so we er^r
thynges natural of the erthe. Homere in his
these wordes in speakyng of philosophers: I
thyng the knowlege of myn auncesters, but
great thanke and prayse, in that they despyred kn^{ow}
This was wel sayd of Homere. For if among the
ent men had not raygned suche ignorance, there h^{ad}
ben so many sectis and parcialities in euery scole.
hath redde the auncient antiquities of the philoso^{ph}
shall not denaye me, the presumption of the know^{ledge}
and ignoraunce of that they desired to knowe, the w^h
is chiefe cause, that science is not all one: There i^s
nombze of parcialities Cynitiens, Catōiens, Peri^{ci}
ens, Academyens, and Epicuriens, who were cont^r
their opinions, as dyuers in their naturall^{ities}. I
not that my penne be so dismeasured to repute so
the auncient men, that the glozie all onely shoulde
with them that be present. Truely if he merite gi
and prayse, that sheweth me the way, wherby I thy^s
passe: yet no lesse meryteth he that sheweth and ad
me of the way, wherby I may fayle. The ignora^{nce}
the auncient men hath ben but as a guyde to aduise
aduertise all other, and bycause they erred, we haue
sythe the way, to their great prayse, & to our great sh^{ame}
I say that yf we that be now present had bene that
had knowen lesse than they dydde. And yf they that
than were now at this houre, they shulde surmou^{nt}
in knowlege. And that this is trewe, it appereth we
the anciēt sages, with their diligence to know the tro

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heir close and ferme made the wayes: But we by our
 the folowe not the open wayes. Than to the purpose
 I wyll say, we that be nowe present, we can not com-
 ne of them that haue bene, but that the trouthe (the
 che accoꝝdyng to Aul. Gel. is doughter of the time)
 this tyme of the woꝛlde declareth to vs the errours
 t we ought to flee, and the trouthe of the doctrine that
 ought to folowe. But as nowe, the humayne malyce
 so experte, and the vnderstandynge of mortall men is
 dulle, that in tyme of nede, in goodnes the wytte fayl-
 h, & in all yll we knowe moze than we ought to knowe.
 i suche wise, that some with one parte of the moze, and
 me with lesse, al presume to wynn the game. And though
 be true, yet it is but a smalle thynge to that we abyde
 re: There is so moche that we oughte to knowe. For
 e moſte that we knowe, is the leaſte parte of that we be
 noꝝant of, as in thynges naturall, accoꝝdyng to the va-
 etie of the tyme, lyke maner doth the operations of the
 eſſentes. In ſemblable wyſe in thynges mortall, as the
 yes hath ſucceded, ſo are diſcouered the ſciēces. For cer-
 yne all the frutes cometh not togyder. Whan one fay-
 eth an other begynneth to entre in ſeaſon. I wyll ſaye,
 hat neyther all doctours amonge chryſten men, noꝝ all
 he philoſophers amonge the gentylles were concurrant
 n one tyme, but after the deathe of one good an nother
 ame better. The hygh and ſupreme wyſedome, the whi-
 che all meane thynges gouerneth by Juſtice, and depar-
 teth it accoꝝdyng to his bountie, wyll not that at oone
 tyme the woꝛlde ſhulde want oꝝ be deſtitute of ſage men,
 noꝝ at an other tyme want of ſymple perſones: ſome de-
 ſpyng the fruite, and ſome the leaues. In ſuch ſort that
 they ſhuld haue enuy of that other were impeched. This
 auncient woꝛld that ranne in Saturnus dayes, the whi-

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che otherwyle was called the golden worlde, the whiche
was so esteemed of them that sawe it, and so moche
sed of theym that herde the wrytynge therof, and so
che desired of them that felt no part therof, was not
by the sages that dyd gylte it, but bycause that there
none yll that did vngylt it. This our age now is of iron,
yet it is not called of iron, for fault of sages, but bycause
the malycious people surmount. I confesse one thing
and I thynke I shall haue many wylle fauour me in the
same, that there was neuer in the worlde so moche people
teachynge vertue, and so fewe folowynge the same. As
Gele sayth in his booke, that the ancient sages were holden
in reputation, bycause there were fewe teachers and many
lerner: at this houre it is contrary, there be but few
lerner and many teachers. The small esteeme that the
sages beinge at this tyme may be sene by great veneration
that the philosophers were holden in as than, the which
thyng was true: Homer amonge the grekes, Salomon
amonge the Hebrewes, Lygurge amonge the Latyn
nyens, Lyuie amonge the Romayns, Cicero amonge the
Latines, Apolonius Thianeus amonge al the barbarian
nations. I desyre to haue ben in all these ages, whan the
worlde was so ryche of sage persons, and so poore of simple
persons, whan they assembled out of fere countreys,
and of dyuers realmes and strange nations: not al one-
ly to haue hard their doctrynes, but also to haue sene their
persones. I thynke I am not begyled in the histories, for
whan Rome in his mooste prosperitie was hyghest in tri-
umphe, Titus Liuius doth wryte it in his histories, and
the glorious saynt Jerome affyrmeth it in the prologe of
the byble, that mo people came to Rome to se the eloquen-
tes of the booke, moze than to ioy any Romayn triumph.
Whan Olympias was deliuered of her childe the greate
Alexander

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Alexander, Philip her husbände and father to the yonge
 yelde wrote a letter to Aristotile, wherein he sayd: I gyue
 great graces to the goddis, not all onely that they haue
 gyuen vnto me a sonne, but bicause they haue gyuen him
 me in the tyme that thou mayst be his mayster, and he
 my disciple. Marc Aurele the emperour, of whom this pre-
 sent boke intreateth, he speakynge of hym selfe wrote to
 Polion these wordes: Frende I wyl thou knowe, that I
 am not made emperour by reason of the blode of my pre-
 cessours, noz yet for the fauour of my linage nowe pre-
 sent, but it was bycause I haue ben always a frende, and
 louer of the sage people, and enemy to them that haue no
 good knowlege. Ryght happy was Rome to chose so va-
 liant an emperour, and ryght fortunate was that empe-
 our to come to suche an empire, not by patrymonie but
 by sagesnes. And if that aege was glozious in ioyinge of
 his persone, no lesse it is to vs to ioye of his doctrines. I
 wyll intitle this boke the golden boke. It maye be called
 golden, bycause in so high estimation it holdeth the ver-
 tuous discoueringe in their tymes this boke with the sen-
 tences, as these princes holdeth their mynes of golde in
 their Indes. But I say that at this houre there be moo
 partes banyshed into the Indes of golde, than to employ
 them to rede the werkes of this boke. Salust sayth, that
 there ought great glozy be gyuen to them that haue done
 these hygh and great actes: And that there ought no les
 fame and renowme be gyuen to them that in a good stile
 haue wryten them. In this case I confesse to deserue no
 merites for my traduction or any fame, but I demaunde
 pardon of all them that be sage, for the fautes that they
 shall fynde therein. For excepte the diuine letters, there is
 nothyng so well wrytten, but that there maye be founde
 necessitie of correction, lyne, and censure. Semed this

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to be trewe, by that Socrates was reproued of Platon and Plato of Aristotle, Aristotle of Abenruyz, Scilio Sulpice, Lelie of Varro, Marins of Tomic, Enio of race, Senec of Aule Gele, Estratocles of Strabo, Tesate of Galene, Hermagoze of Cicero, Origen of saint Jerome, saynt Jerome of Ruffyn, and Ruffyn of Donate: Sythe that in them & in their werkes there hath bene correction, who were men of hyghe knowlege, it is no reason that I shulde be in their fraternitie, seinge that I knowe so lytel as I do, to the examynation of wise and vertuous men. To them I submyt this present warke, and to them that haue ben suche, I them require to be content to be the readers, and not iuges therof. It were no pacience to suffre, noz lawe to permytte, that a thyng that a sage persone with great maturite and deliberation hath wrytten, to be dyspraysed by a symple persone. For ones redyng, oftentimes the auctours and wyrters are dyspraysed, not of them that can traduce and compose werkes: but of them that can not vnderstande them, and yet lesse rede them. I say further of aduantage, that dyuers haue wrytten of the tyme of the sayd Marke Aureleo emperour, as Herodian wrote lyttel, Eutropio lesse, Lampzidio yet lesse, Julius Capytolyn somewhat moze. The wrytinges of them and of other semeth rather epytomes thanne hystories. There is dyfference betwene this wrytinge, and that they wrote by herynge say: but they by whom I haue composed this present warke, they were wytnesse by syght, and not by hering of other but they wrote what they saw them self: That is to say amonge the maysters, who lerned the said emperour their sciēces, there were thre, that is to say, Junio Rustico, Cina Catule, and Sexto Cherouense, neuewe to the greatte Plutarke. These bene they that haue wrytten this present hystorie, Sexto Cherouense in greke, and

P R O L O G U E .

and the other two in latyne. I thynke of this hystoꝛye is but small notyce, bycause vnto this houre it hath not bene imprynted. Whan I departed from the college of my study, and went to preache in the palays, where I sawe so many newe nouelties in the courtes, I delybered my selfe with greate desyre to knowe thynges, and gaue my selfe to serche and knowe thynges auncient. And the case fortunèd on a daye, redyng an hystoꝛie, I founde therein matter to be noted in a pistle, and it semed to me so good, that I put all myn humayne forces to serche farther. And after in repoluyng dyuers bokes, serchyng in dyuers libraries, and also speakyng with diuers sages of dyuers realmes, fynally I founde this tretise in Florence, amonge the bokes left there by Cosme de Medicis, a man of good memoꝛie. I haue vsed in this wrytyng, the whiche is humayne, the whiche dyuers tymes hath ben vsed in diuinitie, that is to reduce, not woꝛde for woꝛde, but sentence for sentence: The other interpretours are not bounde to gyue for the meane the woꝛdes, it suffiseth to gyue for the weyght the sentence: As the historiographes, of whome here were dyuers, and the hystoꝛye that they made was ill but one thyng: I wyll not deny, but I haue lefte out some woꝛdes, which were not mete, nor wel syttyng, rude, and lest of valure, and I haue medled it with other moze mete and profitable. I thynke that euery wyse man, after he hath redde this boke, wyll not saye that I am the principal auctour of this worke, nor yet to iuge me so ignorant to exclude me cleane from it, for so hygh sentences are not founde at this present tyme, nor to so hygh a style they of tyme past neuer atteyned vnto.

¶ Here endeth the
prologue.

Here

M A R C V S A V R E L I V S .

There begynneth the boke of the lyfe of the noble
and eloquent Marke Aurele emperour,

Of the byrth and lygnage of Marke aurele
Anthony emperour. Cap. primo.



A the yere of the foundation of Rome. vi. C.
lxxxv. in the Olimpiade a. C. lxi. Anthony
the meke, beinge deed, than consulles Fulvie
Catō, and Gnee Patrocle in the high capitol,
the. iiii. daye of Octobze, at the demaunde of
al the people Romayn, and consent of the sacred Senate,
was declared for emperour vniuersall of all the monar-
che of Rome, Marc Aurelee Anthony. This excellent ba-
ron was naturally of Rome bozne in the mounte Celie.
And accordyng as Julius Capitolyne sayth, he was bozn
the. vi. kalendes of May, the whyche accordyng to the
accompt of the latyns, was the. xxvi. daye of the moneth
of Apryl passed. His father was named Anio Vero. For
occasion wherof the hystories dyuers tymes calle hym
Marc Anthony Vero. True it is, that Adriane the empe-
rour called hym Verrissimus, bycause in hym was neuer
founde no lyes, nor neuer fayled the trouth. These Anius
Veres was a lygnage, that auauanced them to be descēded
of Numa Pompilio; and of Quint⁹ Curtius the famous
Romayn: whiche for to delyuer the towne of Rome from
peryll, and to gyue his persone perpetuall memorye, of
his owne good free wyll he yelded hym selfe to the same
voyage, that as than was sene in Rome. The mother of
this emperour was called Domiciade, as Cyne historien
recounteth in the boke of the lygnages of Rome. The
Camilles were persones in that tyme greatly esteemed, by
cause they were accompted to be descēded of Camille &
famous

famous and auncient capitayne Romayne, whiche dely-
 uered Rome from the Gaulles that had wonne hit. The
 men that descended of that lynage were called Camil-
 li, for the remembraunce of Camille, and the womenne
 were also calledde Camilles, in the remembraunce of a
 doughter of the sayde Camille, that was called Ca-
 milla. There was an auncient lawe, that all Romayns
 shuld haue a particuler priuilege in the same place where
 their predecestours had done to the Romayne people any
 great seruice. For this auncient custome they had priu-
 lege, so that all they of the lynage of Camille were kept
 and mayntayned in the high capitoll. And in case the va-
 riete of the tyme, the multitude of tyrantes, the ebullition
 and mounge of ciuill warres were cause of the dymy-
 nysshynge of the auncient Policie of Rome, and intro-
 duced in maner a lyfe not verie good, yet for all that we
 rede not, that the preemynence of the Romaynes were
 broken, but if it were in the tyme of Sylla, whā he made
 the vniuersall prescription agaynst the Marians. After
 the dethe of this cruell Sylla, in exaltynge of hym selfe,
 Julius Cesar the pitiefull, made dictatour of Rome, and
 chiefe of the Marians, adnulled and vndyd all that Sil-
 la had made, and brought agayn into the auncient estate
 the common welthe.

What hath ben the condicions, the state, pouertie, ry-
 chesse, fauour, or disfauour of the auncestours of this
 Marc Aurelee Emperour, we fynde not in the auncient
 histories, and yet it hath ben diligently serched. The an-
 cient Romayne hystoriens were not accustomed to write
 the lyes of the emperours fathers, namely whan they
 be made monarches, but the merytes and graces that
 their chyldren had, as for the auctoritie that they had in-
 heritinge their fathers. Trouthe it is, as saythe Julius

Capitolyn, the father of Marc Aurelee the imperour had ben pzetour in exercises, and capitayne in the Frontiers, in the tyme of Traian the good, & Adrian the wyse, & Anthony the meke, emperours. This is confirmed by that the same Marc Aurelee wrote (being at Rhodes) to a frēd of his called Polion, that was at Rome, sayinge thus: Many thinges haue I felte and knowen frende Polion, by the absence of Rome, namely of that I se my selfe here alone in this yle: but as vertue maketh a straunger naturall, and vice tourneth naturalle to a straunger: And as I haue ben. x. yeres here at Rhodes to rede philosophy, I therby repute my selfe as naturall of this lande, & that hath caused me to forgette the pleasures of Rome, and it hath lerned me the maners of the yle. And here I haue founde many of my fathers frendes. Here was capitayn agaynst the Barbariens, to my lozde Adrian, Anthonye my father in lawe, the space of. xv. yeres. I lette the to wyte, that the Rodyan people are curteis, and ful of good graces. I wolde haue redde philosophy as longe as my father had ben at Rhodes in warre, but I may not: for Adrian my lozde commandeth me to go and kepe residue at Rome, howe be it euery man reioyseth to see his naturall countrey.

So by the wordes of this letter it is to be beleued, that Anio Nero, father to this imperour Marc, had applyed the mooste parte of his lyfe in warre. It was not the custome lyghtly to truste a person to haue the office of a gouernour on the Frontiers, without he had ben well exercised in the feates of warre. And as all the gloze of the Romaynes was to leaue after theym good renowne, the sayd Marc certaynly was taken for the mooste vertuous, and had greatest frendes in the Senate, wherby he trusted on the conquest of the most cruell enmyes: according
as

as the sayd Sertus Cheronense historien sayth. The Romanys all though they had in their handes moſte peryllous warres, yet they had in foure partes of the empire ſtronge and entier garniſons. That is to ſay in Byzance, the whiche is nowe Conſtantinoble, by reaſon of theym of the oriente : And Engades, the whiche nowe is calledde Calyx a citie of Spayne, for loue of theym of the weſt : In the ryuer of Rhodano, which is nowe þ ryuer of Rhyne, for the Germaines : And in Colloſſe, whiche now is called the Rhodes, bycauſe of the Barbariens. In the kalendes of Januarie, whan the ſenate deuyded the offyces, beinge pourueyed of a dictatour, and of two conſulles perely, Incontinent in the thirde place they prouided for foure moſte excellent barons to defende the ſayde foure frontiers : The whiche ſemeth to be trewe, for the moſte famous and renowned barons in their yong daies were capitaynes in the ſaide frontiers. The great Pompeius was ſente to the Byzauces Conſtantinoble: The worthy Scipio was ſent to the Colloſſences and Rodyans : And the couragious Julius Ceſar was ſente with the Gadytaines of Calyx in Spayne : And the ſtronge eſteemed Marcus was ſent to them of the ryuer of Rhyne. This we ſay bycauſe that Anio Vero father to Marc Aurele emperour had ben prouoſt and pretour in the offices, and one of the capitaynes of the frontiers, which ought to be in Rome one of the perſones moſte eſteemed.

What maſters Marke Aurelee hadde
in his youth. Cap. ii.

We haue not by any autentike histories, fro whens,
whan, or how, in what maner, or in what exercyſes
or with what perſones, or in what londes was ſpent & cō=
B. ii. su=

sumed the most parte of the lyfe of this good emperour.
 But to be shorthe, Julius Capitolyn saith, that he had ben
 xliii. yere vnder the commaundement of Norian the em-
 perour. Howe be it contrarie wise is founde by other hy-
 storiens, accordeynge as saith the Sexto Cheronense in his
 historie. It was not the custome of the Romayns croni-
 clers to wryte the thynges doone by these princes, before
 they were princes, but onely of yonge people, beinge in
 their yonge age, haupnge greate and hie magnificence,
 and doing gret enterpryses. This semeth to be of trowth:
 for Sueton Tranquill recounteth largely the fearefulle
 dedes and enterpryses doone by Caius Iule, done in his
 yonge age, to shewe to princes to comye, howe it was a
 great ambition, that they had to atteyn to the monarchy,
 and but of small wytt and maturitie to kepe theym selfe
 therein. It is no newe thyng for men that gape for hie
 and frayle thinges. For the more higher the magnificence
 is, the more lower they fele fortune. And when they were
 diligent to accomplyshe their desire, as moche thoughte
 had they to conserue their quietnes and rest. In case thā
 that Anio Vero father to Marke the emperour, folowed
 the exercise of warres: yet he put his sonne in the way to
 lerne science. For there was a lawe soe bled and accusto-
 med, and well kepte in the Romayne policie, that euerye
 citisen, that enioyed the lybertie of Rome, and had accom-
 plyshed. x. yeres: their sonnes shulde not be suffred to go
 by the stretes as vacabondes, nor it shulde not be suffred
 by the Censure, who gouerned Rome, & dayly toke hede
 to the forfaytes done therein, to suffre a chylde no lenger
 than. x. yeres of his age to play the childe. But fro thens
 forth the father of the childe shulde be bounde to noysshie
 hym out of the circuite of Rome, or to laye a pledge that
 his sonne shulde do no folyes. Whan Rome triumphed,
 and

and by their policie gouerned all the worlde, it was certainly a meruaylous and monstruous thyng to se it the, and no lesse fearefull vnto vs nowe to here therof. There was at that tyme in Rome.iiii. hūdzd. M. inhabitantes amonge whom there was. ii. hūdzd. M. yonge people, that were refreynd and bydded fro their yonge pleasures. The sonne of Cato was chastysed, bycause he was wylfull and presumptuous. And also the brother of good Cyna was banished, bycause he went ydelly as a vacabunde. Without that Cicero begyleth vs in his booke of the Romayne lawes, no Romayne ought to stray abroad in the stretes of Rome, but if he bare in his hād the signe or token of the offyce, wherby he lyued. To thentent that euery man shuld knowe, that he lyued by his trauayle, & not by the sweate of other men. This lawe was kepte of euery person. The emperour hadde bozne befoze hym a byrennyng bande: The consulle an axe of armes: the priestes a hat in maner of a coyfe: the senatours a tonge in maner of a crusyble on their armes, the censure a lyttelle table: the tribunes a mace: the centurions a sygne or baner, the oratours a boke, the gladiatours a swerde, the tayllours sheares, the smythes a hammer, and in like wyse of all the other offices and craftes. We maye knowe than by this that is said, that after y Marc Aurelee was bozne at Rome, his father in his youthe had taught hym good noxture. And though it so were, that the begynnynge of his yonge aege shulde be hydde from vs: at the leaste waye we are certayne, that the myddell aege and ende of hym was ryghte glorious. His father Anio Nero wolde that his sonne Marcus Aurelius shulde leaue feates of armes, and folowe study. And surely it is to be thought, that it was done moze by the valyauntnes of the father, than the cowardenes of the sonne, excepte the deedes of

B.iii.

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them that be deed begyle vs that ben alyue, and the cause
 iudged by clere vnderstandynge, and that we fynde moo
 sentences of dyuers sadde persones, that there hath ben
 but fewe that ben losse by wrytinges and lernynge, ye and
 a great meynie fewer that haue had auantage by armes.
 Reuolue all booke, and serche through all realmes, and
 finally they shew vs, that very few in their realmes haue
 ben happy in armes, but there haue ben many famous &
 renoumed by scripture and lernynge. Take here example
 and se if it be true or not that I say. Had the Assiriens mo
 than one kynge, that was Ninus, one Ligurge amonge
 the Lacedemonians, the Egyptiens one Ptholome, the
 Hebrewes one Machabee, the Grekes one Hercules, the
 Macedoniens one Alexander: the Epirotiens one Pyrrhe,
 one Hanniball the Carthageniens, and one Julius Cesar
 amonge the Romayns: It is not thus of lerned men: for
 yf the grekes had one Homer, no lesse the Grekes baun-
 teth them of the. vii. sages, of whom we beleue moze in
 their philosophy, than Homer in the warres of Troy. For
 as difficile it is to fynde a trouthe in Homere, as a lye in
 these sages. Semblably the Romaynes hadde not onely
 Cyncero as ryght eloquent, but also they had Salust, Lu-
 can, Titus Liuius, with a great company of noble men,
 and well approued, who hath left right great credence in
 their scriptures in the sayinge of trouthe. What lost Cice-
 ro in the senate for vsing of inuectiues: And as we say of
 so small nombze of Grekes and latynes, we may saye of
 the Assiriens, Persians, Medes, Argiues, Acayens, Pe-
 niens, Frenchemen, Britons, Englyshemen, and Spa-
 nyardes. All the whiche nations withoute comparison
 haue of them selfe lefte moze memorie, and haue honou-
 red theyr lordes and countreyes moze by wrytinge, than
 they that hath lefte signes by armes. Than let vs leaue
 these

these straunge histories, and retourne to the pithe of our
emperour Marcus Aurelius, as Eutrope recountethe.
According as this excellent baron lerned diuers sciences,
so he had dyuers maysters to teache hym. He studied grā-
mer with a mayster named Eufornion, musyke with an
other named Senio Comode, eloquence with Alexander
a greke, In naturall philosophy he had to his maysters
Comode Calcedonien an auncient baron, whiche expoun-
ded to hym Homer, and Serto Cheronense neuew to the
great Plutarke. Also he studied in the lawes, and Volu-
tio Meciano was his mayster. This emperour esteemed
to haue the knowlege of payntyng, and to graue in wood
and metall, in erthe, and other sculptures, in whiche art
his maister was Diogenito, in his tyme a famous and re-
nowmed paynter. He trauallyed also to knowe and serche
what extended to the art of Pygromancye. By occasion
wherof he went openly to here Apolonio. And to thentēt
that there shulde be nothyng vnlerned of hym, he aboue
all sciences sette his mynde to Cosmography, in the whi-
che for his maysters, he toke Junio Rastico, that sythe
wrote his lyfe, and Cina Catule, the whiche wrote of his
dethe, and the lyfe of Comode his sonne. Of these noble
and excellent barons, that flourysshed in those dayes, he
was taughte in vertues and sciences. Cicero lamentethe
the auncient policie of Rome, bycause that he sawe great
losse in the common welthe than present, sayinge in his
Retrozike, that the auncient Romayns had alway regard
to that parte, where as they thought moste damage and
peryll shulde growe. There were. v. thynges amonge all
other in Rome, wherunto they hadde euer a vigilant re-
specte, the whiche the senate neded not to care for, nor no
lawe dispensed for them: and these ben they, the priestes
were honest, and the virgines bestales righte chaste, the
penal-

penalties right iust, the capitaynes full balpant: They that taught yonge chyl dren were vertuous. It was not permytted in Rome, that he that was a mayster in sciences, shulde be disciple of vices.

What sciences Marcus the emperour lerned.
And of a meruayllous letter that he
sent to Polyon. Cap. iiii.



Philostatesayth, that it was demaunded of Polion, who was the richeste man of the worlde. He answered, It was he that had mooste wysedome. He was demanded agayne, who was mooste pooze. He answered, he that had lest wytte. Of trouthe it was a worthy sentence of suche a persone. The effecte therof we se dayly by experience, the wyse flydyng in diuers chances of fortune releueth hym selfe: The unwitty persone, in very small thynges touchynge his lyuynge not greatly decayed falleth downe. There is nothyng that is lost, but that there is hope of recoucring, if it be in the handes of a wise man. And contrarie wise there is no thyng so assured, but the recouerance therof ought to be feared, if a fole haue the guidinge therof. It was axed of Xenophon the philosopher, whether he had rather to be foolyshe and a greate lord, or to be wyse and pooze. He answered and sayde, I haue pitie of a ryche foole, and I haue enuye of a wyse man wahren pooze. For if a wyse man haue but one fote, yet wyll he ryse and kepe hym self from fallynge. And if ye gyue an abbay to a foole, yf by fortune he fall, he wyll neuer releue agayn. ye may thinke that the father that dieth and leaueth his sonne poze and wyse, that he leaueth to hym moche. And he that leaueth his

his sonne riche and foolyshe, I thinke he hath lefte hym nothyng. These thynges considered, Anio Vero father of the emperour, as a father that loued his sonne hartly, was not contente to delyuer one mayster to his sonne to make hym vertuons, and to lerne one science, wherwith he myght occupie his vnderstondynge, but he gaue hym many maysters, that refreyned hym from vices, and commaunded that he shulde lerne many sciences, to the intent that he shulde be the more besily exercised. Whan & howe moche he trauallyed to lerne, and what sciences, and with whom, and with what wyll he lerned, and what he knew, he wrote hym selfe, beinge at Agrippine, now called Colerney, to a frende of his named Polyon, as it foloweth.

Frende Polion thou meruaylest why that I leaue not to lerne newe thynges at the ende of my dayes. He that hath but one meate to eate, and can not eate therof, he leueth it, and peraduenture it was hollosom for hym, and eateth other thinges that he seeth, whiche may be hurtefull to hym. It is a great magnificence to hym that seeth that he hath dyuers sortes of meates, so that if he haue no lust to one that is good for hym, he may take of an other, that is better. He that is wyse may vnderstonde me withoute any more declarynge. As in all artes a man is contente at the last, so at the laste be they neuer so swete, they toke to a werynesse. He that knoweth but one science, though he be wyse, yet he renneth in great daungier. For beinge annoyed therewith, he wyll occupie his lyfe in other hurtfull thynges. The noble and worthy persones, that caste slouth fro them, haue lefte of them eternall memoire, not wyllynge to lerne all onely one science to attempre their vnderstondynge with, but also trauallyle to lerne dyuers other, wherwith they sharp their wittes, to the intent that they be not dulled and made blont. In all naturall thyn-

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ges, nature is with right lyttell content, but the spirite & vnderstandyng is not satisfied with many thinges. And sithe the vnderstandyng is of suche condiction, that it is losse by libertie, and is lyghtly encombred, with subtilite it perceth, with quicknes it knoweth, & with ignozance it wasteth: it is necessarie by time to remoūt to very hie thinges, lest it bow vnto lowe and pl thynges. All corpozalle domages that chaunce to moztall men, are by medicines healed, oꝛ by reson remedied, oꝛ by length of tyme cured, oꝛ els by dethe ended. The onely vnderstandyng, which is dus ked in errours and depꝛaued in malyses, can not be healed by medicines, noꝛ redꝛessed by reason, noꝛ holpe by counsell. The auncient philosophers in the sayd happye golden worlde and golden age, dyd not all only lerne one thyng, wherby to susteyne their lyfe, and to encrease good fame: But they trauaylled to knowe all that was to be knowen, and yet euer soughte to knowe moze. In the. lxxv. of the Olympiade, as dyuers persones were assembled in the hygh mountayne Olympus to celebrat the playes, by fortune thyder came a philosopher of Thebes, whiche had made all that euer he brought with him. He made his shoues, his cote, and sewed his sherte, and had wꝛitten his booke, and so of all other thinges. They that were there assembled, were abashed and meruaylled greatly that one man coude do it. He was dyuers tymes asked where he lerned so many thynges. And he aunswꝛed and sayde, the flouthe of man is the cause, that one arte is deuided into dyuers artes. For he that knoweth al artes togyther, must nedes knowe one alone. This philosopher answered highly. And surely they that herd him, ought to haue ben as greatly ashamed of his wordes, as this philosopher was of the vaingloꝛy of his apparel. Let euery man remembꝛe hym selfe, and let no man blame the
 Short=

shortnes of the time, noz wekenes of our nature . For ther
 is nothyng so harde, but it is made soft: noz so high, but it
 may be raught: noz kept so close, but it may be sene: noz so
 subtile, but it may be felt: noz so dark, but it may be lygh-
 ted: noz so pzoofounde, but it may be discouered: noz so dis-
 ceuered, but it may be gathred to gyther: noz so lost, but it
 may be found: noz so impossible, but it may be conserued,
 if with al our hartes we occupie our powers in good exer-
 cises, and applye our vnderstandynge in highe thynges.
I deny not, but our nature is lvtell worth. But I knowe
lege that lesse worth is our slouthfulnes. I wold demãde
 of euyll men, the whiche pzaue vs to be good, and areth
 counselle of vs for their sensualitie, sayenge that they be
 weake and frayle, al though they haue vnderstondynge
 to inuent euyls, and haue strengthe inough to put them
 in effecte, and to perceuere therein, they neuer lacke con-
 staunce. The cause is we calle it naturall for to doo and
 commytte vices and miseries . And slouth in vertue we
 calle straunge and weake bycause of the werkes .
 Lette no man infame our nature for beyng weake and
 faynt: noz laye not to the goddes, that they be cruell: for
 we haue no lesse ablenes to do well, than redynesse to do
 yll. Let none say, I wyll, and I can not withdraue me
 from vice. It is better sayd I maye, but I wyll not fo-
 lowe vertue. I wyll not defame strange realmes, but I
 wyll speake of vs that be latynes, and by them shall be
 sene howe they haue bene full of malyce, and that they
 myght haue done well. I wolde wyte of the dedes, that
 Marcus Anthonius dyd with Cleopatra. The pzoscrip-
 tion that Scilla made of the nobles of Rome . The con-
 iuration that Catilina inuented agaynste his countreye,
 The bloudde that was shedde for the cause of Pompeye
 in the campe of Pharsale, and the great thefte that Ju-
 lius

lius Cesar made of the treasour, the cruelties that Nero dyd to his mother, the shames that Caligula commytted with his sisters, the treson that Brutus dyd to his father Caius, the shrewdenes and cruelties that Domitian dyd to the virgins vestales, the treasons that Julius Patroclus vsed with the Sylitiens and Syculians, the frays & murders that Vlpio the maryner made in the temples and churches of Champayne. I wolde knowe of such as I haue reherfed, and dyuers other that I haue left, that applyed them to so many shrewde turnes, who letted the (if they had wolde) to haue applied them in doinge other good dedes? All this I haue sayde my frende Polyon, to aunswere to that ye haue demaunded of me. That is, in what sciences I haue wasted and consumed my tyme. Wherfoze it pleaseth me to telle it to the. Anio Nero my father suffred me but. viii. yeres in my chyldehode: than tyl I was. x. yere of age I went to schole for to wyte and rede: and than fro. x. to. xiii. I went to study with Eufor- mion, and lerned grammer: fro. xiii. to. xvii. I lerned eloquence with Alexander y greke, a famous oratour: tha after that tyme to. xxii. I was with Serto Calcedon lernynge naturall philosophy. Those yeres passed, I was at Rhodes and studied humanitie tyll I was. xxxii. yere of age. And tha I wet to Naples, where as I was thre yere with Fonton a greke, lernynge greke letters. And I put my good wylle soo moche therto, that I spake and wrote greke moze easily than latin. Than I retoyned to Rome, where the warre of Dace arose, to the whiche Adrian my lozde sent me in persone: and bycause that in armes and tyme of warre I coude carye no bokes of science, I determyned me to lerne the science of musike with Hieronime Comode, to thentent that I myght with sweteness of instrumentes restreyne my body fro certayne vices, whiche

che as than in my house began to take force. All the reest of my lyfe thou knowest it hath ben in berynge of offyces in Rome, vnto the tyme that the weyghte of the monarchy was brought into my handes. Hytherto the emperour spake. Thā by this letter that he wrote to his frēd, it semeth wel, & without sleuth he passed his tyme. It is reason to beleue it holly, in that he hath sayd. For so excellent workes & he made, & so high sentences as he wrote myght not procede but of a prudent man, and a very wyle spirite.

Howe for the wysedome of Marcus many wise men flouryshed in his tyme. Cap. iiii.



S the lyfe of the prince is but as a whyte for al other to shote at, and as a glasse wherin al the worlde dothe beholde, we se by experience that wherbnto a prince is inclyned, the people trauayllynge to folowe the same, haue no bulgare discretion to eschewe the euyl and folowe the good. Certaynly they muse no lesse vpon a counterfayte foule made of fethers, than though it were of fleshe, and yet atte the fyrste flyghte hit leese the lybertye, and yet his hunger is not therby quenched. Whereby all the wynges of lybertie are tourned to peyne of seruage. It is a great offence, and an immortall infamye to a prince, that in the stede to gyue his hande of good lyuyng to releue other, casteth backward his fote of euyl example, wherby al other ouerthroweth. Than without cōparison greater is the wyckednesse of the people, than the negligence of the prince. For if one lyueth yl, and an other foloweth hym, it is no meruaylle: and yet thoughe there be but fewe that folowe hym, hit is no newe thyng. For in case that many folowe hym, is no fearefull thyng: but al

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the hole to folowe hym is a great sclander. If the people were suche as they ought to be, one shulde rather tourne from yll to good for many, than many for one shuld tozne from good to yll. Certaynly euery man knoweth, that yf we be bounde to honest commaundementes of our princes: yet we be not bounde to folowe theyr ylle lyuynge. What shall we saye nowe than, seyng that nowe adayes the delytes of men are of so greate price, and the rygour of their empire in so poze estimation, that without shame some dyspryse their iust commaundementes, and folowe their euyll werkes. ¶ If the princes had suche nombze of good folke, that wolde fulfyll theyr commaundement, as they haue greatte nombze of suche wretches that folowe their doinges, I swere that there shulde be no nede of any prison for the mysdoers, or carcans for blasphemers, chaines for sclaues, or heddyngge blockes for traytours, nor knyues for aduoutrers, nor galowes for theues. I wyll gyue you example of all this, wherby ye shall se, that it is trewe that I say. If the kynge be inclyned to hunt, all wyll be hunters: yf he be a player, all wyll playe: yf he vse armes, all wyll tourney: if he be an aduoutrer, other wyl vse the same: yf he be, other wyl be fyers: yf he be vertuous, all wyll be vertuous and valyant, if he be temperate and moderate, all wyll absteyne, if he be hardye, all wyll be bolde, yf he be pitiefull, all wyll haue pitie, if he be wise, all wyll lerne. And to thentent that we blame not allonely the princis of our days, lette vs call to memory the princis of tymes past. Who that hath redde Sertus Cheronense in his boke called the dyuers inclynations that princis hath had, shall fynde that Romulus founda-
 tour of Rome, honoured greatly grauers in stone. Numa Pompilius his successour honoured pristres, Paulus Emilius mariners: Caius Cesar goldsmithes: Scipio
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the capitaynes: Augustus Octavi⁹ tennys players: Caligula ruffiens: Tyberius haundes: Cruell Neron sword players: Claudius wryters: Scilla armorers, Marius his compaygnion grauers of images: Vaspasian good paynters: Titus his eldest sonne mynstrelles: Domitian his myghty brother crossebowe makers. And aboue all other our Marcus Aurelius emperour wylse men. The dyuers inclynations that princis had in dyuers thynges hath made to varie the fauour & disfauour of many princis with their people. And as the common people regardeth moze fauour than Justice, suche officers are mooste fauoured, to whom princis doth mooste inclyne. All this we say to shewe howe that in the tyme of this good emperour wylse men were fauoured. If the historians doo not lye, sythe the tyme of Mecena the Romayne, whiche was the mooste happiest to haue wylse menne to his frendes, than to inuente newe maner of meates and bankettes, Vnto this Marcus Aureli⁹ haue passed. xvii. emperours, whiche were Julius octauus, Tyberius, Caligula, Claudius Nero, Galba, Othus, Vitellus, Vaspasianus, Titus, Domitianus, Nerua, Traianus, Adrianus, Antho-
nius, and Aurelius. And of all these we can fynde al on-
ly but two, that fauoured wylse men, that is to say Nerua and Traian. All the other emperours were not onely di-
sciples of lyes, but also were persecutours of the trouth. This semeth to be true, for Julius persecuted Cicero: Octavius banished Ouide: Tyberi⁹ enpoysoned Calui-
tio, Caligula caused to cutte the throttes of. iiii. oratours to gyther: Nero slewe his mayster Senec: Claudius set his vnckle Lucan in prison: Othus haged by Patroclus: Domitian banyshe all the oratours of Rome: And the moze to shew his cursednes, whā the wylse men y^e were ba-
nyshed went out at one gate, there entred at an other gate
al

all vnthriftes, the whiche by Titus his brother, had ben banysched and expelled. And as I saye of these fewe in nombze, I myght say of many other. For certaynely the wyse men were not thus intreted in the tyme of this good emperour Marcus: and that this is true it semeth by diuers excellent barons, well lerned in diuers sciences, that flourished in his time: Juli⁹ Capitolin recoūteth of them as foloweth. Alexander a greke, Trasion, Dolion, Eutici⁹, Anius Macrion, Caninius, Erodaticus, Fornius, Cornelius, Apoloni⁹, Nius, Sextus Cheronese, Junius Rusticus, Claudi⁹ Maximus, Cina Catulus, Claudius Seuerus, and the renowned Diogenitus paynter, & the well lerned lawyer Volusius Mecianus. All these were in this emperours palays, and resident in his presence: And yet for all that he had dyuers other wise persons in Rome, & abrode in Italy. It was no meruayle to se in those daies, the multitude of menne that flourished in wysedome. There was no father, but yf he had two sonnes, he wold sette one of them to studie, and the other accordynge to the Romayne lawe, shulde be sette to the warres. And yf this emperour wysste of any wyse yonge man, aboue all other he wolde fauour hym.

Of the emperour Marcus sonne named Verissimus. Capit. v.



His emperour Marcus Aurelius had onely two sonnes, as Herodian sayth. The greatest and eldest was called Comode, and the yongest was named Verissimus. He was a fayre chylde of persone, and right vertuous of luyng. With his beautie he drew to hym the eies of many, and with his good inclinations he robbed the hartes of all men

men. He was the hope of the people, and the glorie of his fathers age. And though the eldest was prince, yet themperour determyned, that he laste borne, for his vertues shulde enherite as the eldest: And he that was fyrst borne for his demerites shulde be dis herited. And as good desyres in the best tyme fayle often by vnhappy chance, this emperour being of. lii. yerres of age, and the sonne of. xvi. the glorie of Rome, and hope of the father, the lyfe of the sonne toke an ende. And as moche was the dethe bewayled, as the lyfe desyred. It was great pitie, for the senate by reason therof sawe not themperour, nor the olde emperour for sorowe sawe not the senate of a longe space. Rome was ryght heuy, and the senate withdrew them to the height of the capitoll dyuers dayes. And as the mystes and wyndes cause the leaues to fall that were grene in sommer, and the dedes of honour constreyned vs to forget the myshappes of fortune, as a man of high lygnage and of stronge courage, though that sorowe remayne in their hartes, and abyde locked therein, determynethe to clense the braunches of sorowes that is outwarde, fayinge ioy and myrth outwardly keepyng the sorow within. Thus Marcus the emperour, as a man whose byne freseth and dyeth, wherin he had all his hope, contented hym with that was lefte behynde. Whan his dere sonne Nerissimus was deed, he sent for the prince Comode his onely enheritour, whiche syth the chylde his brother was deed, entred not into the Palays. And the emperour seing the proude and outragious porte of his sonne Comode, bedewed his eien with salt water, remembryng the shame of the one, and the dethe of the other. The whiche perceyued by Faustyne his mother, whiche loued hym most entierly, commaunded to haue her sonne awaye fro the presence of his father.

D

What

What wyse auncient men Marcus chose to instructe his sonne. Capit. vi.



Though that the harte of this emperour was occupied with the dethe of his chylde, yet for all that he repyled his vnderstondyng, to haue the prynces his heire right well brought vpp. For certaynely princis bene suche, whan they come to mans estate, as they be broughte vp in their tender youth. The father than knowynge the frayle inclinations of his chylde, not correspondent to the good gouernance of the empire, as a good emperour sente ouer all Italy for the most wysest persones in lernynge, the most famous of renoume, and the mooste vertuous in dedes. And as in dyuers thynges the infamy is greater in the yll doynge by malyce, than the faute of the trespassour by weakenes: so in dyuers other thynges, the comon voyce is moze than the secreete vertue. For the whiche occasion after the assemblynge of these wyse men, the emperour commaunded to examyne them, and to be informed of the bloudde of their predecessours, of the appoyntment in all their thynges, and of the treatie of their busines, and of the credence amonge their neighbours, and of the purenes of their lyues, and grauttee of their persons, and finally of their sciences, what they coude doo, and this to be done in an order. The astrologiens in astronomie, the musitiens in musike, the oratours in their art of rethorike: and some in other sciences. And this not in one day, but in many, and not onely by information of other, but he wolde knowe hit by his owne propre experience. Thus they were all examyned, so that there was none lefte behynde. And as for perfyte knowlege of thynges, wherin we haue great affection, it behoueth to haue strange aduise

uyse, clere vnderstandynge, and propre experience: so the
emperour commaunded to chose out of dyuers a fewe, &
of the fewe the wyldest, and of the wyldest the most expert,
moste woꝛthy, and moste auncient. And accoꝛdyng to the
vii. artes lyberal there was assigned to euery science two
maysters: so that the pꝛince was one, and the maysters
xiiii. This renoume that the Emperour sente ouer all to
haue maysters foꝛ his sonne the pꝛince, caused to come to
hym mo wylse men from straunge countreys, than of the
marches and neybouris of Rome. The good emperour
consideringe that it was no reason that suche as came to
his seruice shulde retorne myscontented, some with ioy-
ful woꝛdes, some vpon certayn hope, and some with gif-
tes and pꝛesentes were dispatched, so that they were all
pleased. And if this doynge was renoumed by the report
of the wise men, it was no lesse vertuous by the wysdom
and woꝛthyngnes of the emperour to sende them home soo
well content. Foꝛ he sent them away as wel satisfied that
were ouercom, as they were contēted that ouercam them.
And certaynly they had all reason, foꝛ some bare the swete
woꝛdes and satisfiēge of the father: and some aboode
there charged with the enterpꝛise of the sonne. yet the
good emperour not beynge contented with this, commā-
ded that these maysters shulde be lodged in his palays, &
to eate in his pꝛesence, and to accompany his persone, to
se if theyꝛ lyfe were conformable to their science, and yf
their plesant & well couched woꝛdes agreed in effect with
their warkes. It was a meruaylous thyng to se the stu-
dye and thought that the emperour had to regarde them,
as well in goynge as fedyng.

D.ii.

Howe

Howe it chaunced to fyue wylse men, wher-
foze they were put out of the empe-
rours house. Cap. vii.



In the month of Septembze, the.xi. day ther-
of, in halowynge the feaste of the Emperours
natiuitie, in the same house where as he was
borne, in the place of mounte Cellio, As a
trewande and fole doth lyke hym selfe, and semblably as
he is accustomed to do: Then lyke as one dothe the sem-
blable thynges and customes, that he is wonte to do: soo
the emperour set moze his intention on wylse mē, than his
eies on foles. He sawe. v. of them satte betynge the pau-
ment with their feete, and arose from their places, clap-
pinge their hondes, speakynge lowde, and laughynge ex-
cedyngely, the whiche was no lesse marked of the empe-
rour than beholden. whan the feaste was done, he called
them asyde, and sayde: Friends lette abyde with me the
pitiefull goddes, and lette the good dedes goo with you.
I haue chossen you to thentent that foles shuld be conuer-
ted to wylse men, but I se wylse men become foles. Do ye
not knowe that with the fyre of myxture golde is drawē,
and by the lyghtnes of foles wylse men are proued: Cer-
taynly the fyne golde defendeth his qualites in the quyk
fournayes: and lykewise the wylse man sheweth his ver-
tues amonge fooles. wote ye not that a foole can not be
knownen amonge fooles, nor a wylse manne amonge sage
folke: Amonge wylse men, the fole is made bryght, and a-
monge foles wylse men do shyne. Do ye not knowe, what
shame it is to make disciples of foles, maysters of prin-
ces: know ye not that of the couragious vnderstanding
procedeth the composition of the bodye, the reste of the
person to be the temperance of the tonge: what profyteth
it you

it you to haue an experte tonge, a quicke memoꝛie, a clere vnderstondynge, great science, profounde eloquence, or a swete style, yf with al these graces ye haue a wycked wil: Wherfoꝛe wyl wyse men haue their woꝛdes so distincte & moderate, if their woꝛkes be lyght: And to thentent that it shoulde not seme to you that I speake of pleasure, I wyl byynge to you an antike lawe of Rome. In the .vii. table of the lawes of our fathers was wꝛitten these woꝛdes: We commaunde that a moꝛe greuous chastysment be gyuen to the wyse man foꝛ a lyghte dede done openly, than to a secrete murderer. Iust lawe and iust men that ordeyned it. foꝛ the symple labourer sleeth but one with his knyfe in his angre, but he y is wyse sleeth many with the euyl example of his luyng. Curiously I haue regarded, that Rome begynneth to declyne, whā our senate faylleth of meke and wyse senatours, and multyplyeth with wise serpētines. The holy senate was adorne with olde prudent persons: And not without teares, I saye at this houre it is full of tanglers and lyers. Aunciently in the scoles of Grece was taught only woꝛdes, leauynge the werkes: and than in Rome was taught to do werkes and leaue woꝛdes. But nowe it is contrarpe, foꝛ nowe in grece the lyers and tanglers are banyshed, and hath sent them to Rome: and Rome hath banyshed and sente the good wyse men in to Grece: and in this maner I desyre rather to be banyshed into Grece with wyse men, than to abyde in Rome with fooles. To the prayse of a good mā (I sweare to you my frendes) that whyles I was yonge, I saue in the senate the philosopher Crisippus (brought vp with good Traian) speake oftentymes: and he was so swete in his woꝛdes, that many tymes he was harde moꝛe than .iii. houres togyther: And he neuer spake woꝛd but it was of eternall memoꝛie, And whan so euer he wēt

out of the senate, I neuer saw hym do dede wherby he deserved to haue greuous peyn. Certainly it was a meruailous thinge to se & here the estimation of his eloquence, & the infamie of his person. All Rome was abashed of his high eloquence: and al Rome and Italy were sclanderred with his wycked werkes. The prosperite of Rome dured CCC. yere. And so longe Rome was Rome as it had simplicitie in wordes, and grauitie in workes. One thyng I shal shew you, which is great confusion to them alyue, and great admyzation of them that be deed, that of al the ancient men I neuer redde a lyght word that they spake, nor an yuell dede that they dyd. What thyng was sene than in that glorious world, but to reioyce in so glorious wyse men: And now at this daye the worlde is so corrupted, bycause there is so many yong corrupt, surely I haue greater enuie of their dedes than of our wrytynges.

Their fewe wordes and good werkes haue lefte vs example of great admyzation. And the wyse men of this tyme teach vs openly, and wryte vs secretely doctrines of parricion. Than by this that I haue sayde, and by other examples that I shal say, ye maye knowe, what I meane. Whan the realme of Acape submytted his peryllous hornes and his proude heed to the swete obeysance of the empire, they drew theym to the condicion that they wolde haue bene the hostes of the garnysions of all Asye, and not disciples of the oratours of Rome. At a season there was in Rome a great lord ambassadour of Acape, temperate in wordes, and honeste of luyng, with a whyte heed: He was enquired of the senate, why he was so cruel to leade into his countrey for men of warre pooze and couetous squires, and leaue wyse men of great harte. He aunswered with such loue as he had to his countrey, and with suche grauitie as longed to suche a person, and also with

with suche hardynesse as his office required. O fathers
conscriptes, O happy people, It is .ii. dayes syth I eate
any thyng, and .ii. dayes syth I slept, cursynge the fa-
tall destenies of fortune, that hath brought me into Ita-
ly, and syghynge vnto the goddis that kepeth me in this
lyfe, bycause my spirite is betwene the harde anuelde &
the importunate hammer, where as I se all is harde as
the anuelde, wheron the hammer often strykethe. The
thyng moste peryllous amonge all perylls is to make
election, ye constrayne me to chose, and myne vnderston-
dynge can not attayne therto: and the goddes doo not
shewe me what I haue to chuse. If I leade garysons
of menne of armes, it shall be very noyfulle to the fami-
lies: yf I byynge aduocates, it shall be peryllous for the
common welth. Sorowfull that I am, what shall I do:
and heuy and vnhappye realme, that abydeth for theym,
and ye cruell that commaundeth them. Than syth it is
thus, I determyne me to leade them that shall waste our
goodes, and spende them, rather than they that shoulde
corrupte and breake our customes. For a legion and an
army by necessitie may put to affliction and sorowe only
a people: But an oratour or an aduocate by his malyce
may corrupt a hole realme. Than sayd the emperour to
these wyse men: frendes howe greatte is the credence of
ignozaunt people and losse of lerned men: wherfore shuld
they of Alcay rather gyue meate to pooze sowdiars men
of armes, than to haue for their neyghbours oratours &
wyse speakyng aduocates: So whan this communica-
tion of the emperour was ended, the .v. greatte maysters
went away with greatte shame, and the .ii. other tarped
with great feare. In al this whyle it passed not two mo-
nethes after, that the prynce Comode was come from his
noyses, where as he had lerned the doctrine of suckynge
of

of brestes. Also he was but of tender age, and not of gret delicate vnderstanding. This prince Comode was bozne in Rome on the mount Cellio, and nourished at the gate of Hostie. He was moze welbeloued of Faustina his mother, the hated of Marcus Aurelius his father. And to speake with all due honour amonge theym, the mother helde her for certayne to be the chylde's mother: and the chylde accordyng to his customes was moche lyke his mother: and the father was in doubte, whether he were his sonne, bycause he resembled but lyttell in vertues to the father.

Howe the emperour reasoned with the maysters that shulde lerne his sonne. Ca. viii.



A these matters beinge paste, the good emperour for to esteeme the thyng that he had done, and to puruey for that he had to do, he called asyde the nyne wyse men and sayde to them. There is great fame in Rome of that I haue done in thempire to do suche dilygence as to discover all the wyse men, and of the curiositie that I haue shewed as in retaynyng of the beste. If of trouth ye be wyse, ye can not be sclaundered of any thyng. The annoyance of yll thynges cometh of wysedome and vertue, but the admyzation of good thynges procedeth of small vnderstandyng or lesse experience. The wyse person wyll suffre none admyzation. To shewe at the fyrste bront motion in euery thyng, sheweth to be constant in nothyng. I haue made strait examinatio among you, for so oughte suche to passe as shulde be admytted to strayte amities. New amities is wery in thre dayes, and euer haue I sene it, and proued it by experience, that frendes lyghtly take,
are

are lyghtly lefte agayne. I chaunced in cumpanye of an auncient Romaine, whiche was all whyte for aege: and bycause he merited it, I called hym father, and he for loue and nurture called me sonne: the whiche in case of aduerture enquired many thynges of me, but I wolde make hym none answer. Than he sayde those wordes to me: Son beholde, In the lawe of frendshyp it is wrytten, that the frend in all thynges trusteth to his frende, first regar-
dyng who is his frende. Surely this counsel was good. The curious man of armes (if he wyl bye a horse) fyrst he wyl se hym renne and assayed, or he speake of the sale of hym: if he please hym not, though he myght haue hym for a lesse price, he wyl not haue hym: yf he please hym, what so euer the price is set, he wyl not leaue hym. Than it is a lefull thyng, that the beste be examyned and felte er he be had into the stable. In lyke wise a man shulde be examyned, er he be receyued in to the house. And yf the horse that eateth but hey, strawe and otes, be lefte for one yll tache, moche more the frende, whiche is the intestyne of the harte, and oughte to kepe our secretes and affecti-
 ons, for dyuers fautes ought not to be receyued in to the same. There was a philosopher named Arispo, the firste that was in the tyme of Silla and Marius, who sayde, that frendes ought to be lyke good horses: That is to say that they ought to haue a lyttell heed by humble conuer-
 sation: quicke of herynge, to the entent that they be redy whan they are called: a softe mouth, to thende that their tongue be temperate: The houe of the fote harde, to suf-
 fre trauayle: and theyr handes open to doo good dedes: their fete sure to perceuer in amitie: a baye colour for his good renoume: And finally the hors retourneth, that is the manuall frende: and therto is ioyned these wordes: That is, that he be without curbes or byttes: and that he
 E maye

maye go where as any fatall destenyes tourneth the bzi-
 dell and reyne of fortune. The goddes vnderstande me,
 though that men can not atteyne therto or comprise it. Re-
 tournynge than to the purpose, I wyll ye knowe, bicause
 I haue taken you for frendes, not to putte you awaye at
 length, and though that cherytrees produceth their flou-
 res in Februarye, we abyde not to haue the cherres but in
 Maye. Frendes ought to be as molberies, that in suche
 tyme produceth their beryes, whiche is their fruyte, that
 they feare not the frostes of Maye, as the vynes doo,
 nor the mystes of Octobze, as the peches and quinces do.
 I wyl say that they com not whan the prosperite is good,
 and go away whan the fortune is nought. Of trouth it is
 not so of true frendes, As the lyes of wynes causeth dzo-
 kardes to vomyt in the tauernes, lyke wise aduersitie dzo-
 ueth away faynt frendes out of the house, bycause the ser-
 uice is not acceptable, without the wyll be knowen of him
 that dothe it. Than holde you sure of my contentation,
 syth that I haue it of your warkes. I come nowe to the
 effecte of our pourpose. I haue taken you for to be may-
 sters of this chylde: and regarde that I haue taken you
 fewe amonge many, to thende that my sonne shuld be no-
 ted amonge fewe. His nurses at the gate of Hostie haue
 gyuen hym two yerres sucke of their mylke, and his mo-
 ther Faustyne hath gyuen hym other two yerres to spozte
 hym in the Dalays. And I lyke a good father wyll gyue
 hym. xx. yerres of chastisement. It soze displeaseth Fau-
 styne his mother to leaue hym so sone, and I am soze that
 I toke hym so late. It is no meruayle, for these womenne
 with their lyghtnes, and these chyltern with theyr smalle
 knowlege occupie them selfe in thinges present. But wo-
 thy wyle men ought to thynke on that is passed, and also
 to ordeyne for that that is present, and with great study to
 pro-

prouyde for the tyme to come, I thinke on euery daye in
 the yere, and of the daye, that the goddis haue gyuen me,
 and of the day that I gyue vnto you. The goddes to me
 and I to you doo gyue hym mortalle to be as a man, and
 than you to me and I to god do render hym immortall to
 be wyse. What wylle ye that I saye moze? Certaynly
 god hath made hym man amonge men by the soule: and
 I haue engendred hym a beaste amonge beastes by the
 fleshe, ye shall make hym a god among goddis by shape.
 I demaunde of you a thyng, whyche is, I haue not gy-
 uen to my childe but mortalle fleshe, wherwith he shall
 take an ende of his lyfe, but ye shall gyue hym doctrine,
 wherwith his memoze shall neuer perishe. If his youthe
 knew the weke and faynt fleshe that I haue gyuen hym,
 and that his dulle vnderstandynge maye reache to the
 wysedome that ye may gyue hym, he wolde calle you fa-
 thers, and me an yf stepfather. And though he say not so,
 yet I confesse it, that is, that the naturall fathers of the
 fleshe are stepfathers of noblenes, sythe that we gyue the
 naturalitie of them subiecte to so many mutabilitie, and
 bonde and captiue to so many miseries. For certayne ye
 shall be iuste fathers to hym, yf as nowe ye can enhable
 his fleshe in good customnes, and to byng his vnder-
 standynge to be occupied with high sciences. And sye, re-
 pute it not smalle, that I commytte to your charge and
 arbytrement, that thyng whiche princis ought mozte to
 regarde, that is, to se to whom they commytte the nour-
 syng of their chylderne. To be maysters of princis in
 erthe is to haue the offyce of goddis that bene in heuen.
 For they gouern him that hath cure to gouerne vs: They
 endoctryne hym that shoulde teache vs, they shewe vnto
 hym, that ought to shewe vs: Chastise hym that oughte
 to chastise vs: and fynally they commaunde one, the whi-
 che

E. it,

the afterwarde alone maye commaunde all the worlde. What wyll ye that I shall say moze? For certayn he that hathe the charge of a prince, is the gouernall of the shyp, The standerde of an army, the gouernance of people, the guyde of wayes, the shelde of kynges, the treasour of al, bycause they haue amonge theyr handes hym that afterwarde ought to gouerne all the worlde. And furthermoze to the entent that ye haue hym in moze estimation, I wyl tell you, that in guyng my sonne vnto you, I do gyue you moze than if I had gyuen you a realme. The pure & clene lyuyng of the sonne aliue, is the glorious fame of his father that is deade. For of hym, that the sonne trusteth in his lyfe, dependethe the renowme of the father that is deade. Thus haue ye hadde the goddis atte wylle, and the byttell destenies of fortune happy to you, as vnto this houre ye haue not watched with chyldren of straungers. Fro hensforth wake ye with the prince, whiche is the profite of al other. And take good hede my frendes, that there is greater difference in bringyng vp of princis chyldren, than to teache yonge boyes of the common people. The moste parte of them, that come to scholes come for to lerne to speake: but I delyuer not my son Comode to you to lerne hym to speke many wordes, but for to sette him in the waye to do good dedes. The glozie of folysh fathers is to se their chyldren bainquishe other in disputyng: but my glozie and ioy is to se my sonne surmount other in vertue: bycause the glozie of the Grekes was to speake moche and to do lyttell, And the glozie of the Romaynes was to do moche and to speake but lyttell.

Howe the maysters of princis oughte
to kepe them from vices.

Capitulo. ix.

Mar-



Arcus Aurelius folowynge his pour-
 pose, ioynded to his foresayde wordes,
 and sayde: Regarde well my frendes,
 and forgette not, that I truste you in
 myne honour, who am my sonnes fa-
 ther, and of the study of Comode my
 sonne, and of the glorie of Rome my
 naturall countreie, And of the solace and reste of Rome,
 whiche is my subiect: Of the gouernance of Italy, whi-
 che is your countreie: and aboue al thynges of the peace
 and tranquillitie of our common welth. Than he that is
 put in truste with suche administration of other, hath no
 cause to slepe. Nowe lette vs come to moze particular
 thynges. Regarde as nowe, what thyng is mooste con-
 uenable for my sonne, whiche as a ponge colte wolde goo
 play in the grene medowes, and noysome shall be the ke-
 per to hym, & a thyng paynfull to kepe hym therfro. The
 first thyng, wherof I pray you, is to gyue hym a stronge
 bydel, and a sharpe bytte, to the entent that he be well mou-
 thed, so that none take hym with lyes. The greattest faut
 that can be in men of honestie is to spare the trouthe, and
 not to be veritable: And the greatteste vilanye in a vil-
 layne is to be gyuen in largesse of lyes. Sette good or-
 der vppon hym. Take hede to his handes, to the entente
 that he accustome hym not to demaunde to play at the ta-
 bles and dyce with suche as be losse and noughte.
 The greattest token that a prince woll lose and distroye
 the empire, is whan in his ponge age he is knowen to be
 vicious in play. The playe is suche a vice, that who soo-
 euer it byteth, it is like the bytyng of a madde dogge,
 the whiche rage endureth vnto deathe. I recomende to
 you my chyld, though he be ponge make hym sad and mo-
 derate. Certaynly it is not so great a gloype vnto a prince
 C.iii. to

to haue the crowne on his heed, noꝛ a chayn of gold about his shulders, noꝛ the scepter in his hande, noꝛ the greate company and garde that he hath about hym, as to shewe sadnesse from his yowthe. The open honestie supplieth many fautes and debilities. Spare not to caste on hym a stronge chayne, and to tye hym faste, that he go not to delytes and vanyties. Foꝛ an effeminate person neuer hath spirite to any hye oꝛ noble dedes. I am greatly satisfied with that the techer of Nero sayd to his disciple: Though I wyll that god wolde pardone me, and that men knewe no mysse of me, foꝛ the vilanye of the fleshe, I wolde not synne in the fleshe. Surely they were good wordes, and yll bozne away of Nero. Let not yet go the reyne. Foꝛ if he se the yonge mares, he wyl neygh oꝛ Bray yf he se tyme. The vyce of the fleshe in all tymes, in all ages, and in al estates holdeth his season oꝛ course, if it passe not in the grene age of chyldehoode, castynge out the reyne of reason, & stryken with the spurres of the fleshe, and blowing with the trompe of sensualitie: Takynge the bydell in the tethe with a furious will, rennyng through mountayns and woddes after the mare: In leauynge her goynge but softly, and in the ouertakynge moche lesse. And than afterward being therein delyberat, þe body remaineth impotent, the vnderstandynge acloyed and blynded, the reason troubled, the good name lost, and yet neuertheles at the laste the fleshe remaineth fleshe. What remedy foꝛ this? I fynde none other but that a great quicke fyre couered and laden with erth dieth. And whan the vicious man is layde in his graue, he maketh an ende and may neuer correcte hym selfe. Wherfoꝛe I aduysse you to gyue no place to this yonge chylde to be vicious. And in the chastysinge of hym, gyue no respyte, though he be yonge, and my child, and well loued and cheryshed with his mother, and though

though he be the only heire of thempire. With chyldren of a stranger crueltie is tyranny, but with a mans own child pite is the occasion of his losse in time to come. It is shewed vs by trees, how we ought to nourishe our childre. Of trowth the chestain trees bynge forth the soft swete chestnutte out of the sharpe pricking & hard huske. And on the nut trees amonge the swete softe leaues, is nourished the harde nutte. Applieng this to our purpose, we haue sene a pyteful father, bynge forth a cruell son, and a cruel father a pitiful sonne. He that was lerned amonge al other lerned, and renoumed among al other renoumed, Lygurgus king of the Lacedemoniens, in giuing his lawes in his realme, I remembre to haue red therein these wordes: We commande as kynges, & pray as men, that al thinge be forgiuen to them that be olde and broken: and to them that be yong and lusty, to dissimule for a tyme: & nothyng to be forgiuen to very yonge chyldren. In good soth these were good wordes spoken of suche a persone, and semeth reasone. For it is reason that the hors that hathe rounne and passed his course of cariage, shoulde reste hym. And who that hath passed rightously, it is Justice that he be suffered in reste. And the chyldre that wyl passe reason, ought to be reformed. Cause hym to be always occupied in vertuous actes. For if the vnderstondynge be dulled, and the bodye slouthfull in suche aege, with great difficultie wylle they drawe to thynges that be straunge to their delectations, bycause that the lyghtenesse is in the heed, and reason vnder the eyes. His youthe wylle demaunde you some recreation, whiche ye shall consyder, so it be not often nor to seldome. Fyrst that it be by reason: Secondely that they be taken in noble exercyses. Take hede, for I gyue not my sonne vnto you, that ye shulde gyue hym recreation, but onely for to teache hym.

The

The henne hauynge her egges vnder her wynges, in that season goth not abrode in the yardes, and though the egges be not her owne, yet she hatcheth theym, as yf they were her owne. For this cause at this tyme in Rome of a C. disciples. lxxx. cometh forth without doctrine, for yf their maysters wast two houres of doctrine with the, they lese with the. xx. houres in mockery. And therof it is, that of the smal grauitie of the mayster, springeth great boldnes and lyttell shame in the disciple. Beleue me frendes, that the teachers to princes, and maysters to disciples, profite moze in one daye with good examples, than in a yere with many lessons. My sonne seinge you drawe to vertues, wyll drawe to the same, if he se you studie, he wyll study, if he se you peasible, he wyll be styll: he seinge you temperate in fedinge, wyll eate but lytel: seing you shames faste, he wyll feare you, seinge you restefull he wyll reste, and yf ye do contrarie, he wyll do contrarie. This surely is true, for the auncient men onely with the euill that they se, eyther do they corrupte their bodies, or sclaunder their owne iugementes, as chyliden do, that can say nothyng but that they here, nor do nothyng but that they se. I wyl also that the prince my sonne lerne the. vii. artes lyberall. For I haue taken many of you, to thentent that ye shulde teache hym moche. And yf at the last we shulde be sorrowfull, bycause he hath not lerned all, we shall not be soze, if he knowe moche, nor thynke his tyme yll spent, nor be begyled, in saying, that he knoweth inough, of that so yonge a chylde shulde haue to gouerne and rule thempire. A very philosopher after the lawe of lygnage oughte to haue speche at place and tyme conuenient, to fyght in the felde, and to speake in the senate. If my owne remembrance begyle me not, amonge myn antiquities I haue brought a stone out of Grece, the which Pythagoras the philosopher held

helde at the gates of his schole, wherein was witten with his owne handes these wordes: He that knoweth not that he ought to know, is a brute beast amonge men: He that knoweth no more than he hath nede of, is a man amonge brute beastes: He that knoweth all that may be known, is a god amonge men. Moste high wordes, Glorious is the hande that wote them, the which not at the gates, as they were than, ought to be witten, but within mens brestis they ought to be paynted and grauen. Our forefathers toke the laste sentence of this philosopher, and the firste rebuke abyde to vs their last chyldren. For certayne amonge the Grekes and Lacedemoniens was attained as moche fame by their philosophers and conquestes, as by their wrytinges, which they haue lefte vs. And our former emperours gatte no lesse loue in their empire by their profounde eloquence, then they feared all the worlde by their noble triumphes. For a profe wherof behold Julius Cesar, whiche beinge in the myddell of his campe, with his lyfte hande wolde holde his speare, and his penne in his ryght hande. Ne he neuer lefte of his armour, but forthewith he toke his bokes. We must not lay excuses, sayinge with them that be ignozante, that the lyberall artes are to hie, and the tyme that we haue verve shorte. For certayne the diligence of men in tymes paste, reproueth our slouth at this day. One thyng I do se, that in a shorte whyle we lerne al yll, but in a longe season we can not lerne goodnesse. Wylle ye se, what is our fortunes and destenies, and in what thought the goddes doo kepe vs, that for to do one good dede we lacke tyme, and for to do many shrewde tournes we haue to moche tyme. I wylle say no more, but that I wolde my chylde shulde be nourished in suche wise, that he shoulde lerne the feare of god, the science of philosophers, the vertues of auncient Romayns,

mayns, the quietnes of you his maysters, and the goodnesse of all them that be good, as he hath taken of me to be the heire of the empire. I protest to the immortal goddis, to whom I trust for to go: and protest to the high capitoll, where my bones shall be bzent, that neyther Rome now in my lyfe, nor the heuens in tyme to com shall curse me after my dethe, yf by yll lyuyng my sonne shuld lese the common welth, if by your small chastisement ye shall be cause of the losse of the empire.

How thempour Marcus nourished the princesses his doughters. Cap. x.



Marcus Aurelius emperour hadde but two sonnes, that is to wytte, the prince Comode and Verissime: He hadde foure doughters by Faustyne his wyfe legittimate, and heires of thempire. This emperour was exceedingly diligent for to nouryshe his doughters. As soone as any of them were bozne, forthwith they were putte to nurse into some ferme withoute Rome: He wolde neuer suffre any of his childe, sonnes nor doughters, to be nourysshed within the walles of Rome: Nor consente, that they shulde sucke the brestes of delycate women. He hated delicate and gay nurses: and they that were laborous homely and holsome he loued, & to them and none other he betoke his children to nouryshe, and he wolde neuer agree, that they shoulde be brought home to his house. He was wont to saye in his sportynge: I haue more adoo to content these nourisses, than to mary my doughters. Homer sheweth, that in Grece there died Arthemio, that was kynge of Argiue, withoute any sonne to inherite: and the nurse that hadde nourished hym, with all
her

her myght demaunded the realme for a son of hers, whiche hadde sucked of the same mylke that the sayde kynge had done, allegynge, that syth they were both nourished togyder, & sucked one mylke, that they both shulde enherite one realme. Thus said Homer, to reproue the nouryces of Grece, whiche toke moze presumption for nourysching of princis, than quenes dyd in bearynge of them. Therfore this noble Marcus Aurelius emperour wolde not that his doughters alonely shoulde sucke grosse and rude mylke, but he wolde not agree, that any reuerence honour or seruice shulde be done vnto them, as it belongeth to the chyliden of so high princis to be done, and as the custome is to be doone. On a day as the sayde emperour was at supper a fole named Galyndo, at whose wordes the emperour often toke pleasure, sayd: Syr yesterdaye I came fro Salon and fro the gate of Hostie, and there I sawe the emperours chyliden go lyke labourers, and I se here in thy hous labourers chyliden go lyke emperours: Telle me, why do ye dissimule as a wyse man, for I that am but a foole vnderstondeth hit not. The emperour aunswered: O Galyndo, bycause that yet at this tyme Rome is not Rome, all thoughe thozoughe all the worlde hit be renowned Rome. In my selfe I fynde farre moze assuraunce, that my chyliden begyn lyke pooze labourers, and ende as ryche emperours, thanne to begynne as ryche emperours, and ende as pooze squiers. Doest thou not know why Italy is nowe lost: They wolde haue their chyliden to be wantonly and delicately nourysshed, and suffre theym not to lyue in trauaylle, and to leaue their heires pooze and nedye, and them selfe to ende in greatte peryll. This answere was so excellent in fame, that it was euer taken for a prouerbe in Rome. Whan this emperours doughters were twoo yere olde,

incontinent he prouided women and maystresses for to te-
 che theym. Sextus Cheronensē saith, that he serched a-
 monge the ancient matrones of Rome, whiche were clea-
 nest of lyfe, mooste esteemed of good fame, of noblesse of
 bloudde, of sadde witte, and that had ben mooste vsed in
 bryngyng vp of princis chyldren. This emperour was so
 thoughtfull in the orderynge and teachyng of his chil-
 dren, that he wolde haue no woman, but yf she were of .l.
 yeres of age at the leaste, and .x. yere a wydowe, and that
 she had nourished a .C. chyldren doughters of senatours:
 Imagining that she that had medled in so many thyngis
 of other mens, shulde not be ignozant in her owne. After
 that he hadde prouyded these maystresses, he caused his
 doughters to be brought to their howses, and there gaue
 the their charge. And from the byrth of any of his dough-
 ters he wold neuer consent, that they shuld come in to his
 palays, tyll they shuld haue hus bandes. It chanced that
 Faustine the emperesse chylded a doughter, and she beinge
 certified, that it was like her and very faire, moued with
 a softe herte of womanheed, and with a motherly herte,
 prayed the emperour, that the sayd chylde myght be nour-
 ished in her ptesence, sith euery man sayde the chylde was
 so fayre and so lyke vnto them. The emperour answered
 and sayd: Faustine for those thynges that all other haue
 sayde to you, dothe it beseme you to demande this of me:
 But I that haue red in this case, and in other cases haue
 sene, in no maner ought to condiscende therto. Do you
 not knowe, that the tyme that the doughter is nourished
 in the house, the father is charged with thought, the mo-
 ther with wanton flatterynge, enuy in the bzyethern, bold-
 nes in the doughter, and foly in the nouryce. I wold wite
 of you, if she were nourished in the house, what profyt-
 teth it if her maystres teache her saddenesse and honestie
 with

with her wordes, and we entice her to lewdnes with our
 woꝝkes oꝝ dedes : what pꝛofyteth it, if the doughter de-
 serue chastisement, that the mother flatter and make her
 wanton : Moze reason it were, that your doughter shuld
 folowe the good doinges of you that are her mother, thā
 the woꝝdes of the straunge wydowe that is her maystres.
 Marke well Faustyne, if ye oughte to reioyce at her chyl-
 dishe toys. Remēbre that the plesure of yong chyldzen, is
 but chyldeyshe and tryfles. But if you nouryshe them not
 well, as the pleasures were ioyful whan they were yonge,
 so whan they be olde to refreyne them shal be greater di-
 spleasure. Therfoze if you be vertuous, withdraue their
 iappynge trifles as now, foꝝ them that shal be vertuous.
 I wyl tell you one thyng. I wold rather my doughters
 in myn absence shulde be disciples to vertues, than to be
 maystresses in lewdenesse. And sythe it is so, I do desyre
 you, require it not of me. And I desire you that it be not
 so. I am importune on you, that ye be not importunate
 on me. I pray you that you pray not me. Oꝝ elles I com-
 maunde you that you demaunde it no moze of me.
 This harde aunswere of the father ceased the importu-
 nitie and pittefulle requeste of the mother. Thus Fau-
 stine all fearefull, seinge the father within the walles of
 Rome, durste not go se her doughter without, but as pri-
 uely as she myght.

Howe Marcus theemperour dyd chose and pꝛo-
 ued his sonnes in lawe. Cap. xi.



Ike wise as Marcus Aur. the emperour sur-
 mounted in vertues al moztal men that died,
 foꝝ certayne in marienge of his doughters he
 semed to be kin to the goddis, ꝑ euer lyue: & by

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the grace and gyfte of god, or by his fortune, he was as happy in vertuous sonnes in lawe, as greatly fortunate of dyshoneste daughters. After the dethe of the good olde man, with the smalle thoughte of the prince his sonne in his gouernance, and vngoodly fame of his doughters in their lyuing, it semed to haue made an ende of the glorious memoire of the father, but if it were by the souerayne goodnes of his sonnes in lawe, that he had chose by his lyfe tyme. It is dayly sene, that the losse of the father by euyl childerne, is wonne by vertuous sonnes in lawe.

Then Marcus Aurelius consideryng husbandes for his doughters, toke not of dyuers that the vanitie of the worlde offered hym: but of a fewe that of many folkes were esteemed to be of good behauour, and that to his semynge were suche in dede: and as in mariages all the error is to couete goodes that be in the purse, and not to examyne the persone that is brought to the house. He regardynge this, married not his doughters to strange kynges, but to naturall borne senatours: and not to such as discended fro hygh lygnage, as were the Scipions, Fabrycions, and Torquates: but to such that with their vertues reysed newly good lygnages: Nor he married them not to suche as were presumptuous of the prowes and dedes of their predecessours: but to them that resplendysshed by the dedes of their owne persons. Nor of trouthe he chose none that were very ryche, but suche as were vertuous: nor suche as were soone moued, but such as were quiete: not to the high mynded, but to the moderate, that were no bosters, but shamefast, no bablers, but smal speakers: no quarellers, but sufferers: not to presumptuous, but to them that were meke: not to hasty men, but to the that were pacient: not to them that were esteemed among the commons, but vnto them that deserued laude among wyle

wyse men. In this maner he trusted no person, for he married not his daughter to suche as were praysed a farre of: but to them that of long tyme had ben proued nerehand. In good faythe herein his reason was good. For in the thyng that toucheth a mannes honour, he that is wyse ought not to trust in the onely information of strangers: Nor he is not wyse, that is so hardy to do all thynges by his owne semyng and opinion. And he is but a symple persone, that wyl do all thyng after the opinion of strangers. And in these poyntes the emperour Marcus had a good respecte to kepe them: In walkyng good rest: In speakyng great eloquence: in eatyng good temperance: In aunsweryng greate subtiltie: In his sentences and Determinations great grauitie. And therfore in this case of mariage he was ful of graute tyl he was therein determined. And this only came not of hym, but of other, whā they came to pray hym. It befell that in a feast of the god Janus the emperour goyng to the campe of Mars vpon a lusty horse fyers and flyngyng, he mette so rudely with a trūpettour, that coursed as a knyght vpon a hors, that with the stroke of metyng the trumpetour was ouerthrowen with his horse, so that he was slayne, and the emperours hors legge broken, and his owne fote hurte, and his arme out of ioynt. So greatly encreased his hurte, that he was in peryll, Italpe in heupnes, and all Rome was in doubte of his lyfe. And bycause a fewe days afore that he had communication of a mariage for his thyrde daughter, named Matrina for the determination that he shulde haue made the same day, greate suite was made to hym. But he for the great peyn of his arme, and the blud that was congeled in his bodye, and the anguysshe that was at his harte, as for the demaunde that was offered hym, he defferred the aunswere tyll an nother daye. The
whiche

whiche daye comen, in open p[re]sence he sayde in this manier.

What the emperour Marcus sayde to the father of a yonge man that wolde marye one of his doughters. Cap. xii.



Ifentimes I haue sene in other, and haue p[ro]ued by experience, that the smalle consideration passed, and the gret acceleration in busynesses nowe p[re]sent, maketh great inconueniencies in tyme to come, onles that at that point the thyng be commytted to the vertue of some wyse persone, rather than to his owne sole opinion. Neuer the les in the case of mariage though the father be wise, yet without the opinion of an other, he ought not to determyne him lyghtly, for enuious fortune, though she shewe her selfe somewhat frowarde in all thinges, yet in this case of mariage, she ouerth[ro]weth moze than in al the other. He that wyll speake of mariage, ought to entre into his owne secretenes, and to thinke p[ro]foundly thereon, as of a thinge that all his welth lyeth in, his credence, his lyfe, his honour, his good fame, the reste of his owne persone, and his fleshe, whiche is his chylde. I am of opinion, that if all wyse men were molten in a founaynes, they coude not gyue one good counsell to make a mariage. And wold ye that I, whiche am simple, shulde do it lightly by my self? Cruelly therein behoueth rype and sad counsell. For ones fallen in to the perill therof, none may haue remedy without greater perylle. The renoumed Marcus Porcius, whose lyuyng was a myrrour in his days, and his wordes and counsels remayne for a remembrance, sayd openly in the senate: O noble fathers and happy people, by the decrees

decrees openly proclaimed in places accustomed, I know that in a counsel and senate ye ordeyned thre thinges, that is, ye vndertoke to make a newe warre againste the Parthes, to continue the enmitie against the Veniens, and to marie. v. hundred matrones of Rome, to. v. C. knyghtes of Mauritanie. And certaynly I am abashed, that amonge wyse men so high affaires shulde be so soone and sodainly concluded and determyned. To satisfie myn vnderstandynge, and for the good wyll that I owe to the countrey, I shall say one worde, that is, To begyn warre and to pursue hatred and yll wyll, and to conclude mariages, In these causes a man ought to aske counsell of all the men of the worlde, and al the goddis ought to correct and amende it. And. x. M. counsaylynges wolde be holden vpon eche of these thynge. These wordes were worthy of great recommendation. For one thynge by dyuers opinions ought to be determyned: But many thinges by one opinion oughte not to be determyned. And if this be for al thinges, it serueth than most specially in mariages. My frendes, ye say that he that offreth hym to be my sonne in lawe, is greatly desired loued and wel named amonge the common people. To sell suche marchandise, set it not in so yll a shewe. The credence of an honest manne lyeth not amonge the common voyce of the people, but among philosophers: not amonge many, but amonge fewe: not amonge howe many, but what they be. ye know your self that at this houre all that the commons thynke is but a bayne thynge: that they prayse is false: that they condempne is good: that they approue, is nought: that they allowe is shamefull: and finally al that they lawde, is but folye. Their praisinge begynneth with lyghtnes, their followinge without order, and it endeth with furie. O how many haue I sene in Italy lyke the lyes of wyne cast out
G of the

of the senate, and after put as fyre bzondes of tauernes in Rome, by whose opinions the cōmon welth is gouerned, and with great lyghtnes men put downe, and with no les lyghtnes exalted agayne. Beholde here, that the werkes of the people are holden in mockage with wise men: and that that is agreed amonge theym, is esteemed but for vanities with wise men; For that that is meale with philosophers, is eaten but for brāne and chaffe with symple folk: and contrary wise the meale of the symple, is but bzanne & chaffe among wyle men: Of all that our predeceffours haue syfted, in these dayes the children of vanitie worke thereafter, for they wylle be despyred, and hate to be hated. All suche holdeth a generall rule, that euery man that desireth to be beloued of euery man openly, can not escape fro dyuers secrete fautes. Shall I tel you who is best beloued nowe adayes? Than harken to me, and I wyll tell you, as moch as it toucheth, to whom it may touche, hurt who it may hurte, fele it who that may fele it. The people loueth hym, that can dissimule with them, that be nought and enuious of them that be good, and suche as fauour lyers, and setteth trouthe aside, and suche as accompanieth with mankyllers and murtherers, and to be serued of theues, and fauoureth quarellers, and pursueth such as be peasible: delyuereth offenders and sleeth innocentes, renoumeth them that be shameful, and shameth them that be of good fame: Finally he is most set by, y putteth them that be good fro hym, and is the most bayne among them that be bayne. Certainly there is great suspicion to sette hym amonge wise men, that is allowed of all foles. And the reason therof is, that the commons lyghtly loue none but men that with malice refreyneth them that be vertuous, and letteth the reyne slyppe to them that be vicious. Cruely wyle men haue hym as suspect that the commons
desyre,

desyre, whiche wyll not be displeased with his y^el doinges.
Howe often tymes doth the goddis permytte the ambi-
 cious man in honours, that procureth to do y^el many daies
 without Justice, and dothe not be holde the sodayne hole
 losse therof with shame: Than take this word of me, that
 in the multitude of men there are fewe to be praysed, and
 many to be repzeued.

Howe a sonne in lawe ought to be wel examined
 er he be accepted to his purpose. Cap. xiii.



Nowe to come to our particular purpose, ye a-
 monge you do prayse this yonge man, and yf
 his werkes be as your wordes, ye shulde not
 onely say, that he hath merited to be my sonne
 in lawe, but rather meriteth to be onely enhe-
 ritour of the hole empire. And therfore I wolde witte of
 you, wherof you can prayse this your kynseman, that ther
 be no contrarietie betwene his werkes and your wordes.
 If he be rusticall, it abateth hym soze: if he be of hyghe
 blode, he wyll be presumptuous: if he be ryche, he wyll
 giue him to viciousnes: if he be poze, he wyl be couetous:
 if he be balyant, he wyll be ouerbolde: yf he be a coward
 he is defamed: if he be a great speaker, he shall be a lyer:
 if he be to lyttell a speaker, he shall be noted as vnwise:
 yf he be faire, he wyll be coueted: if he be fowle, he wyll
 be ielous. Than if he be quite of all these, I swere to you
 that I wyll gyue hym my doughter Matrine with al my
 hart. I do not say this vnto you, bicause I suppose any y^el
 in your kynsman: but to thentent that ye shulde thynke,
 that I say it accordynge to my naturalitie. And than sith
 I say it not agaynst your credence, for the knowlege that
 ye haue of him, mystake not my suspicion, sith that I am
 G.ii. hole

hole ignorant of this yonge mans lyuyng. And I wyl not, that ye shulde thynke, that the chylde my doughter, that hath ben brought vp in so great vertu in my palays, shulde be married to this yong man for the only fame that he hath amonge the people. O howe often haue I sene in our tyme nowe, and haue redde of the worlde passed, the whiche as nowe by commandement of the goddis, at another tyme by their yll woꝝkes hath deserued hit, at another tyme by their soꝝowfull destenies haue permitted it, wenyng for to byngne sonnes in lawe in to their howse, haue brought in a hell: In stede of wyse and faire doughters, haue recouered adders: In sekynge sonnes, haue founde basilicke serpentis: In byenge of bloudde, poyson delyuered: In sekynge frendes, they haue founde enemies: In demaundyng honour, shame hath be giuen: and finally in marienge their children, wenyng to haue lyued merily, the soꝝowfull fathers haue had an euyl life and a woꝝs dethe. And in case that such ought to be moꝝned moꝝe of them that be ioyous, than they that ben soꝝe of them that ben ioyous: as well oughte we to appꝛoue the iuste chastisement of the iuste goddes, by the vniuste woꝝkes done to iust men. For he deserueth great chastisement, that with ferefull hardynes as a foole determineth hym selfe in high and difficult thinges with sodayn counsell. And therfoꝝe my frendes, if ye be vertuou, be not abashed of that that I saye, noꝝ take the examination that I make in a sclaunder: If I take this yonge man to be my sonne, to be sonne in lawe to Faustyne my wyfe, husbande to my doughter Matrine, broder to Commodus the pꝛince, felawe to them of the senate, kinsman to my kingfolke, and loꝝde of my seruantes: It is reason, that such a robe ought well to be regarded, sythe that so many persones must weare the lyueray therof. The garment that
so

so many persones must weare, must be wisely cut, to content them all. We see naturally many thynges noyfull to vs, if it be nere vs, and yet not damageable to vs ferre of.

The sonne with his shynynge beames dothe parche the flesshe of the people of Ethiope, bycause it is nere vnto theym: and contrarise wise it dothe no grese to their persons that inhabite in the ende of Europe: for bycause it toucheth theym a ferre of. There haue bene dyuers sonnes of Rome, whiche beinge in straunge countreys, haue done great profite to the common welth, and no lesse famed throughtout the worlde, which after they were returned to their owne houses, haue spilde moze bloudde of innocentes, than they had done befoze of the Barbariens.

And that it is sothe demaunde of Iulius Cesar, of Pompeius, of Sylla, of Marius, of Cassius, of Catilina, and of Lipulus, of Octavius, and Marcus Anthonius, of Caligula and of Nero, of Othus and Domitianus.

And as I say of so small a nymbze of bastarde chyldzen that helde Rome, I maye saye of dyuers other tyrauntes broughte vppe in Italye. Beleue me in one thyng,

All that is agreable to vs abroode, agreeth not to vs yf we bringe them into the howse. For there goth many thynges betwene the entreatinge of a man in wordes, and to be longe conuersant with hym in workes. Lyttell nedeth humayne ignorance for to begyle an other, and yet lesse to be begyled of many an other. With a meke visage, swete wordes in the tongue, good delyberation in the persone, temperance in the worde, euery one may begyle an other nowe adayes: and by shrewdenes and malice, is begyled hym selfe. I say to you, I beinge a yonge man knew the famous oratour Cauryn propose dyuers tymes in the senate: And on a day he spake for a Romain matron, which shulde haue married an honest doughter of hers to a may-

ster of horses, by semyng a Romaine, and not very well appoynted: And amonge other wordes he sayde: O noble fathers, O happy people, Commande not that thinge that afterwarde ye wolde were not commaunded: An yll mariage is lyke as he that shoteth a pellet of dust, it hurteth hym that it toucheth, and blyndeth them that stande nexte. Sothely these were hie wordes, and the comparison well vnderstonden, conteyneth in it sentences of grauitie. It is manifest to all men, that an ylle sonne in lawe is the deathe of the wyfe that hath hym, shame to the frendes that procured it, and at the laste an yll ende for hym selfe, and for his father that offered it. Than by all these thynges that I haue sayde, ye may vnderstande what I thynke in this mariage. His sayinges thus ended, the Senate was greatly edified therewith, and the knyghtes, kynsfolke to this yonge man, greatly abashed: and Faustine the emperesse soze confused: for by her introduction, the matter was moued: & how this mariage fayled, the historians write not, whom we haue folowed in this werke.

Howe Marke the emperour fauoured all noble exercises, and hated trewandes and fooles. Cap. xiiii.



He vertues of this good emperour, and the knowlege of sciēces, the worthines in armes, and the purenes of his lyuyng, caused hym to be named among the famous me of Rome: The gentyll conuersation that he had with euerye man, made hym to be renowned amonge the worthiest of all the worlde, the thyng moste agreable without reprehension of the greatest, meane, and leasie is, that a lord and prince of many to be communicable and conuersant with many. All the good werkes of good men may be condemned.

ned with the yll intentions of theym that be ylle: But the good condicions haue such a priuilege, that of yll the good is praysed, and the god approueth the yll. In a mans lyuynge there is none so great a vice, but by good conuersation it is couered and hyd: And contrary wise no crime is so secrete, but with yll conuersation, at the tyme that it hurteth it is moze openly knowen. Of two extremities it is not so greuous to the common welthe, a man to be weke and faynt in secretenes, & of gentyl conuersation abrode, as it is of hym that is secrete, and is rude and of yll conuersation opely. Dyuers not being of good order & polycie, we haue sene couersant a gret whyle in Rome, only for beinge wel condicioned. And many mo we haue sene, that in a short while after they were put in office haue bene so proude and hasty in their condicions, that they haue bene depriued from their offices. And this we say bycause this good emperour was so iopous of bysage, soo ampyable in his customes, so louynge in his conuersacion, that lyghtly he wolde caste his armes aboute the necke and on the shulders of them, and take them by the handes, that had any thyng to do with hym. The porters shulde not lette them that wolde accompany hym in the palays: Nor his garde was not so hardy to put abacke such as wold speke with hym in the feldes. In all his aeges he applyed to that that euery age gaue hym by nature: He was a childe amonge chyldren: yonge amonge yong folkes: worldly with them that were worldly: good felawe with good felawes: A baron among barons: Hardy with hardy men: and fynally olde with olde menne. He was wont to saye, whan any in his pzesence that were yonge and not welle taught in their language, gested at the debilytie of age, or olde me at the foly of youth: Leaue them sith they leue you. Many tymes of wyse yonge men cometh olde foles:

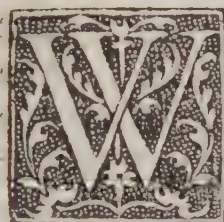
And

And of yonge fooles customably cometh wyse olde men.
 Naturalitie at the last maketh al thyng in kynde. As of
 greatte debilitie we can drawe but smalle strengthe, by
 our naturalitie we may for a tyme resiste it, but not utter-
 ly maister it. I am soze abashed that some that wyll be soo
 lordely and valiant in vertues and so high mynded, that
 they wyll make vs beleue, that they lyuinge in the fleshe,
 & being of fleshe, only fele not the fleshe. I can not tell,
 yf nature hath made other of an other nature than I am
 of, or me of an other nature thanne other be, for I beinge
 neuer so faste inclosed in the swete conuersation of philo-
 sophye, ye in the beste tyme, this false fleshe wolde calle
 atte the gate with his noughtye fleshe. The moze that
 we reyle and exalte vs with science and gette lyberties,
 the moze lower we do putte the fleshe with her mys-
 ries. Beleue me one thyng, that if a tree beareth not in
 bymetyme his floures, we hope not to haue the fruite
 in harueste ripe: and a yonge man that hath not passed
 his youthe with yonge people, we haue no hope that he
 shulde passe his age with olde men. And as we may resist
 our naturalitie and not cleane to fordoe it, those fathers
 erre, that are so extremely affectioned, to haue their chil-
 dren to begynne as olde men, wherbyon it foloweth, that
 they ende as yonge. This emperour was so wyse in all
 thynges, that amonge theym that were mery, he was of
 great mythe: And in verities he was very veritable: In
 his pastimes he was greattely temperate, and a louer of
 musike, specially in good voyce and instrumentes, and
 soze displeased, yf he harde any disorde therin. He pas-
 sed most of his youthe in lernynge of sciences. Whan he
 came to mans state, he exercised feates of knyghthode:
 he loued discipline and not of adulation. He was apt and
 happye in armes, but yet in rydinge of horses, he hadde
 ofte

ofte tymes yll hadde. In his yonge age he delyted to play at the tennys, and at the chesse in his auge. He loued not these counterfaytyng players of farces and mummeries, and yet lesse trewandes that ben naturall fooles, iuglers and gesters for pleasure. The players and gesters suffred great varietie in the empire, accorpyng to the diuersitie of emperours. Julius Cesar susteyned them, Octavian his neuewe droue them awaye, Caligula called theym agayne, Cruell Nero banyshe them, Nerua made theym come agayne, Good Traian banyshe them out of all Italy, Anthony pius brought them in agayne: And by the handes of this good emperour Marcus Aurelius, they ended. And the occasion was, the Romayns dyd celebrate with great ioye the. iiii. daye of Maye the great feast of the mother Berecynte, mother of all the goddis. The sacred priestes flamines diales, wold haue brought thither these minstrelles iuglers and iesters for to reioyce y feast, and contrary wise the holy nunnes bestales, wolde haue done the same, so that variance felle betwene them, some with force, and some with resistance, and many ranne thider in fauouringe of both parties, and not a few to departe them. The cruell and greatte noyse of slaughter amonge them was suche, that it tourned the feast to wepynges, the pleasures into sorowes, and their songes into wayllynges. This good emperour laboured to please this furie of the people, and to sette peace among the neybouris of Rome. Whan al was done he made curious diligence to serche out all the players, iuglers, and iestours of Rome, and in al the circuite of Italy, that they might be chastised, and Rome deliuered of them. And for example of all the worlde he sente theym to the gate of Hostie, and commaunded to set theym in Galies, and to banyshe them for euer into the yles of Hillespont: whiche was ac-

complyshed as the emperour commaunded. And fro that daye was neuer sene at Rome iugler noꝝ gester, as longe as themperour lyued. But hit passed not two yerres after his death, but they retourned, whan his sonne had the rule. And excepte the bokes doo lye, there was in Rome greater nombꝛe of fooles than of wyse men.

¶ Of the good conuersation of this emperour
Marcus Aurelius. Cap. xv.



Whan I haue sayd of the hatred that this emperour had to trewandes, reuelers, getters, iuglers, gesters, and suche other: Now will we speke of his laudable exercises of them that came to hym. To be welle condicioned, the malyce of mankynde is so great, that as good men are bounde to regarde the yll, so do they that be yll regard to distrope the good. The trace of vertu is as good in good thingis with them y be good, as the vice & dishonestie of euyl folkes is in euyl thynges. What greater corruption in this worlde may be, than a vertuous persone foꝝ one woꝝke of vertue can not fynde one to helpe hym to woꝝke it, and whan he alone hathe wꝝoughte it, there cometh tenne thousande to gayncsaye hym. The greatestt goodnesse of all goodnesse is whan tyzannies ar put vnder by vertues acquired: oꝝ to fynde reinedy agaynste accustomed vices with good inclynations. And the greatestt euyl of all euylles is whan a persone forgetteth that he is a man, puttyng reison vnder fote, straining his hand ageynste vertue, and letteth vice rule the bydle. This emperour M. Aurel. sustained in his lyfe great gloꝛie in the eschewing the villany of byllaynes: no les merited he immortall memoꝝy in sufferynge dyuers dishonestyes in the execution of his
ver-

vertues. An vnfallible reule it is amonge the chylterne
 of vanitie, to chylde the vices of theym that be vicious.
 And the vertues welles incorporate nourshe many en-
 uous. They that be ylle, bene alwayes double ylle, by-
 cause they beare armour defensiu to defende their owne
 puelles: and armes offensyue to assaile the good ma-
 ners of other. The trowthe is, yf good menne be dily-
 gente to seeke other that be good, no lesse oughte they for
 to hyde theym from theym that be ylle: for a good manne
 with one synger hath power ouer all theym that be ver-
 tuous, but for to withstonde one ylle personne, he hath
 nede of handes feete and frendes. And thoughe fortune
 be ylle to good menne, their owne propre fame shall be
 spent as of staungiers. This good emperoure was
 stronge in vertue, meeke in wordes, attemperate in his
 exercyses, homely with euery man, sadde amonge sadde
 men, hasty amonge hasty men, Mery with mery men, and
 wise amonge wise men, as it is conuenable for a curious
 prince to be. And whan these are approued in the lawe of
 good men by clere vnderstandynge, as well shall they be
 condempned by theym that haue ylle intencions. Than
 as the cooles can not be in the embres without sparkis,
 nor corruption of caryon withoute stench: no more can
 he that hath a hole and clere herte be, without inforcynge
 hym to vtter lounge wordes: And he that hath an ylle
 harte, alwayes ouercommeth other with wordes of ma-
 lyce. For it is certayne, for a smalle season the louer may
 absteyne his loue, and yet lesse tyme the payne of hym,
 that is payned with loue hydde. The sorowfulle syghes
 shewe the hurte of the herte, and the malicious wordes di-
 scouer the yll of the harte. We haue sayd all this bycause
 that the bountie of this good Emperour Marcus Au-
 relius set all his ioy and gladnes in them that were good,

and bewayled them that were ylle. And as in semblable thynges the worthy men shewe their worthynes, and wise men their wisdom, beinge vertuouse in workyng and wise in knowlegynge, were very wise in dissimulynge. One of the vertues that a wise man ought to haue (wherin he shall be knowen as wylse) is that he can suffre welle. For a mā that can suffre wel, was neuer but wise & wel manerd, and therewith to suffre the vertue of yll busines is a thyng reasonable of all reasonables bestes, and of them that be good very good. And by contrary wise the man that can not well suffre, though it be in very iuste thynges, hopeth not to be well treated. And lykewylse as this emperour Marcus in all vertues hath ben egall with all the emperours of Rome that haue bene, In this vertue of sufferance he hath surmounted all them of the world. He was wont to say many tymes: I haue not attayned to the empire by the sciēces that I haue lernid of the philosophers, but by the pacience that I haue had with them that were frowarde and not lerned. And this semeth to be true: for oftentimes this emperour beyng with the Senate at Collisee, or the Senate with hym in the hygge Capitoll, he seyng in his p̄sence dyuers that praysed hym, and other that in his absēce amonge the people blamed hym and rebuked hym, his attemperaunce yet was so greatte, and shewed hym selfe so iust with one and other, that neyther his frendes that agreed with hym were sorowfulle, nor his ennemies for any disfauour went away complaynyng and angrye.

Of the feast that the Romaynes kept to the god
Iano in Rome, and what chaunced to the
sayde emperour there. Cap. xvi.

Amonge



Amonge the solempne feastes, that the aunciente Romaynes hadde inuented, was one of the god Janus, kepte the firste daye of the yere, whiche as nowe is the fyrste day of January: He was paynted with two faces, to shewe that it was the laste day of the yere passed, and the begynnynge of the newe yere. To this god was dedicate a sumptuous temple in Rome, whiche Temple Numa Pompilius called the temple of peace. And except the temple of Jupiter, it was holden in moste reuerence of all other. Whanne the Romayne emperours went or came to Rome to visite the high capitoll, and the bestall virgins, forthwith they went to pray, worshyp, and to offere at the temple of Janus. The day of celebrazion of the sayd feast all Rome reioyced, and put on them the beste clothes that they had, brennyng greatte lyghtes in euery hous, and made many plays of interludes, of gesses and iuglyng, & watched al nyght in the temples, & delyuered al the prisoners that were in prison for debt, & the debtes paide with the common treasour. They had tables with meate before their doores in suche habundance, that moze was lefte than eaten, wherwith all the pooze folkes in Rome were releued. The Romayns thought, that what so euer they spent that day, that the god Jano (whiche was god of tymes) wolde rewarde them double. The Romaynes saide, that this god Janus was not vnkynde and a nygarde, for if they spent a lyttell, he wolde recompence theym with a great deale. At this feast was made great processions, euery sorte of people by them selfe, the senate went a part, the priestes aparte, The Censores a parte, the plebeyens a parte, The matrones and yonge maydens by them self, and the ambassadours went in procession with al the captiues and prisoners. Thus they went euer two and two:
the

the ende of one company was the beginnyng of an other. And thus out of the temple of Janus, they went aboute all the temples of Rome, and so out of Pozte latine into the felde, and rounde aboute the walles of Rome. And bycause the circuite of Rome was greate, the processions went but from one gate to an other, so that towarde night all the processions of Rome had gone euerychone in their company aboute: And that done they retourned all into the temple that they came out of, and there offred echeone as they myght. And in the sayde processions it was of custome, that the emperours went accompanied with the senatours: but this good emperour was so familiar, that he wolde honour and accompany euery man. It was accustomed in Rome, that the sayde day the emperour shulde weare on his robe, and mantell imperiall. And all prisoners and captiues that myght touch hym with their hād, were delyuerd, & al trespassours were pardoned, and banished folke were forgiuen, and callyd agayn. And this emperour to vse his clemency, and to leaue after hym perpetuall memorie, left the procession of senatours, and without any gard went the procession with prisoners and captiues. The whiche doinge was occasion to leaue behynde hym perpetuall memorie of him selfe, and great example of clemencie and lowlynes to princes for to come. Howe be it there is nothyng so well done of them that be good, but forthwith it shalbe contraried of them that be yll: And therfore this example was as moche dispraised of theym that were yll, as praysed and allowed of them that were good. And in likewise as among them that be good there is one noted to be pure good, so amonge them that be ylle, there is one noted to be right ylle. And that worse is, that the vertuous persone este meth not the glozie of his vertue so gret, as the malicious person by his malice is shamed.

This

Thyde bycause there was a senatour in the senate named Fuluius, whiche was as blacke by his malyce, as white by his heares. He laboured soze in the dayes of Adrian to haue ben emperour, and had Marcus alwayes as competitour. And as it is a natural thyng to them that haue yll hartes to shewe theyr malice in small thynges, so this emperour dyd neuer good thyng openly, but this Fuluius wolde grudge therat secretely. And though this emperour was greatly praysed for the delyueringe of prisoners, yet the sayd senatour coude not haue the prudence for to suffre it, and so parte in mockerie, and parte in earnest he sayde these wordes to the emperour in the senate: Why gyuest thou thy selfe to all men?

Howe Marcus the emperour aunswered a senatour in the senate. Cap.xvi. +



He emperour Marcus Aur. heringe what the senator had sayd to hym in the ptesence of the senators, that is to witte, wherfore he gaue hym to all men, He answered: Frenoe I giue me to all men, bycause all men gyue them to me, and are glad of me. Beleue me, that ouer great rigour in a prince causeth hatred of the people, the goddis will not, nor the lawes permit not, nor the agrement of the comon welthe wyl not suffre, y princes be lordis ouer many, & to accompany but with a fewe. I haue redde in bokes, & haue proued it by my selfe, that the loue of subiectes, the suretie of the prince, the dignite of thempire, and the honour of the Senate, do conserue the prince, not with rigour, but with gentyl conuersation. The fysher goth not to take dyuers fyshes of the riuer with one baite, nor y mariner with one nette entreth in to the see. I promyse you the depenes of good

good wylles oughte to be wonne with the depe
 harte, some with giftes, some with wordes, som
 mys, and some with fauours. The insatiate couetous
 men are neuer content, noz wyl open their affections, but
 locke vp their treasours. And suche as serueth for loue, ar
 lesse content with openyng of their treasure, than locking
 vp their wylles. It is an olde prouerbe of Pythagoras :
Loue is payd with other loue/ How yl fortune it is to a
 prync, & how vnhappy it is to a comon welth, whā the pe-
 ple serue not their lordes but for rewardes, & the lordes to
 kepe & mainteyne them, but for their seruice. With diuers
 stones & one cymment buylding is reysed, and of dyuers mē
 and one lord is composed a common welthe. And if geo-
 metrie begyle me not, the morter that ioyne the one stone
 with an other, ought to be medled with sande and sleeked
 lyme by reson. Separate the stones, and the wall openeth,
 and let the cymment fayle, and the edifice falleth. He that is
 wise, may well vnderstonde me. Loue betwene neybour
 suffereth to be mytigate with water : but it is requisyte,
 that the loue of the prync and his people be pure. Dy-
 uers trowbles, and at dyuers tymes I haue seene a-
 monge the common people of Rome in one day moued &
 appeased : but one disorde reysed betwene the lord and
 the common welthe, vnto the dethe is neuer accorded. It
is a difficile thyng to make appoyntment of many with
many, and moze difficile to accorde one with an other.
 But without comparison moze harder it is to appoynt di-
 uers with one, than one with dyuers. And in this case I
 wyl not saue the prync noz leue the people vncōdēpned.
 Fro whens (as ye think) cometh it now a days, that lordis
 with annoyance commaunde vniust thynges, and in iuste
 thynges the subiectes are vnobedient? Nowe here me &
 I shall tell you. The prync doinge a thyng in dede, and
 no

not of righte, will confounde the wille of euery man, and
 beleue his owne vnderstandynge, and draue of hym selfe
 and all other his only wyll. Contrary wise, the multitude
 of the people dyspraysinge their lordis vnderstandynge,
 do as they wyll: not as all wyll, but as euery man desy-
 reth hym selfe. Of trouth it is a greuous thing (although
 it be greatly accustomed) to wyll that all gownes shulde
 be mete for one man, and that one mans harnes shulde be
 mete to arme all men. Than what shall we do, that our fa-
 thers haue left thus in the worlde, & also we hold that we
 be their children, and that woys is, we leaue the same to
 our heires? O howe many princes of my predecessours,
 that I haue redde of, haue bene losse, in shewynge theym
 selfe ouer straunge, and beloued of none? I wyll tel you
 of some of them for examples, that I haue redde in my
 bokes, to thintent that princes may see what they wyne
 by amiable conuersation, and what they lose by ouermoch
 straungenes. In the realme of Assiens gretter in armes
 than the Caldeens, and lesse in aduantage and antiquite
 than the Assiriens: One maner forme of kyngis endured
 amonge them. CC. and. xx. yeres, by reason they were of
 lowable conuersation. And an nother fourme and maner
 (as Homer saith) lasted but. xl. yeres bycause their kyngis
 were of an yll condicion. And the. ix. Epiphanes of the
 Egiptiens was bnnombred and put down, bycause there
 was a lawe that echone shulde be bare legged in the tem-
 ples vpon the holy days. And this kyng on a day riding
 came befoze the god Apis, god of the Egiptiens, the whi-
 che thinge was not suffred, for beside that he was put out
 of his realme, he was chastised. Also the. vi. Artacidauell
 the inuincible kyng of Parthes, not only was depriued,
 but also banyshe out of his realme, bycause he dyned at
 a knyghtes bydale, and wolde not eate at the bydale of a
 I comuner.

comuner. yet also though the realme of Italy was scant, their hartis were greatte: for bycause one of their Mar-
 ranes, for so were their kynges called, had shette his ga-
 tes by nyght for to slepe the surelyer, he was depriued of
 his realme: bycause a lawe was made, that no prince
 shulde shette his gates nyght nor day: for they sayd, they
 hadde made hym kyng for to driue away their ennemies,
 and not to be daintily nourished. Tarquine the laste king
 of the Romayns was unkinde to his father in lawe, dis-
 famed his blode and kynrede, was traytour to his coun-
 trey, cruell of his persone, and aduoutreer with Lucrece:
 but for all that he was not called vngentyll, nor infamed,
 nor traytre, nor cruell, nor aduoutreer, but he was named
 Tarquine the proude, bycause he was of ylle condicions
 and complexions. And yet by the lawe of good men, I
 swere to you, that yf the sayde vnhappy Tarquine hadde
 had good wyll in Rome, for the aduoutrie of Lucrece he
 had not be put oute of his realme, In as moche as other
 greater and more greuous harmes hadde bene done be-
 fore his tyme, and also moche woꝝs sithen by aged empe-
 rours in the empire, the whiche crimes by them commit-
 ted, were suche, that the offence of this fraile yonge man,
 was but smal in estimation. For thing certayne these prin-
 ces holde, that if they gyue dyuers occasions for their yll
 wyll, yet a lyttell thing suffiseth yf he shewe that the hate
 that he hath is for none yll wyll: but the hate that the sub-
 iecte hath to the lord, is bycause he hath no power.

¶ Julius Cesar, the laste dictatour and firste emperour,
 bycause he forgate to be a man among men, but thinking
 to be a god amonge goddis, beinge a laudable custome,
 that the senate shulde salute the emperour on their knees,
 and the emperour to ryse courteysly agaynste them: by-
 cause of a pꝛesumptuous mynd, he wolde not kepe the cere-
 monie

monte, he merited to lese his lyfe with .xxiii. strokes of pen
kniues. And as I say of these so fewe a nombze, I maye
say of many other. The phisitians with a lytell Kubarbe
purge many humours of the body, and the emperoz with
a lyttell beneuolence take many greues fro the stomakes
of his subiectis. The people owe obedience to the pzince,
and to do his persone great reuerence, and fulfyll his cō-
maundementis, and the pzince oweth egall iustice to eue-
ry man, and meke conuersation to all men.

¶ Marcus Porcius saide dyuers tymes in Rome: That
the publycke welthe is there perpetuall and without any
sodayne falle, where the pzince fyndeth obedience, and
all the people fyndethe loue with the pzince. For of the
loue of the lorde bredeth the good obedience of the sub-
iecte. And of the obedience of the subiect bredeth the good
loue of the lorde. The emperour in Rome is lyke to a spi-
der that is in the myddes of her webbe. For if the sayde
coppe webbe be touched with the poynt of a nedell, forth-
with the spider feleth it. I meane that all the werkes of
the Emperour in Rome bene streyghte waye knowen in
all the erthe. I beleue that this daye I haue ben iudged
of humayne malyce, for accompanynge the processyon
of the captiues, and that I suffredde theym to towche
me, that they myghte enioye the priuilege of lybertie.

I yelde and gyue great graces to my goddis of my good
happe, bycause they haue made me pytefull for to delyuer
prisoners, and not cruell as a tyraunt for to make theym
bonde that be free. The prouerbe sayth: One snare maye
take two byzdes: So it hath ben this day: for the bene-
fyte redounded onely to the myserable prisoners, but the
fauour to all their nations. And doo ye not knowe, that
by takynge awaye their prongs, I haue drawn to me
the hartes of all their realmes and countreyes: Finally

I.ii.

it is

it is moze sure to a pynce to be serued with free harte
and loue of them that be at libertie, than of subiectes con-
streynd with feare.

Howe thempour Marcus diuided the houres of the
Day for the busynesses of thempire. Capi. xviij.



Ere before we haue shewid how this good em-
perour had great hatred of men that were of
yll luyng, and that passed their tyme in ylle
exercise, It suffiseth not the philosopher to re-
proue the vyce of other by wordes, but it is ne-
cessari that he do the werkes that he requirith other to do:
It is reason now to shewe, howe this emperour by his
great prudence compassed & dispatched the great & huge
busynesses of the empire, the particularities of his house-
holde, the recreation of his persone, therercise of his stu-
dies, the infinite reasonyng with one and other, with su-
che payne takyng, and in so shorte tyme. He was so apte
and wel aduysed, that by him there was no tyme yll spent.
Nor neuer faylled to dispatche the besynes of the empire.
And bycause the time is glorious of him that gloriously
spendeth it, and the time is accursed that to our damage,
and without profyte to other passeth, leauing vs ignorant
as brute beastis: He departed the tyme by tynes, the ordre
wherof was thus. Seuen houres he slepte in the nyght,
and rested one houre on the day: At dyner and supper he
wasted but onely two howres: he deputed two houres for
the matters of Asie: Other two howres for the busynesse
of Europe and Affrike: and in conuersation of his hous
and with his wife and chylzen seruantes and frendes that
came to se hym, he spent other two houres: And for the
outwarde besynesses, as to here the complayntes of them
that

at were greued, The suites of pooze men wanting Ju-
 ice, the widowes, the robberies of pyckers, of mychers,
 and bacabundes he deputed an other houre. All the reste
 of the day and night in redyng of bokes, to wryte woꝝkis,
 to make metres, to studie antiquities, to practyse with
 wise men, to dispute among philosophers, he passed thus
 ordinarie in wynter: And in sommer if cruel warres let-
 ted hym not, oꝝ that he were troubled with great and hat-
 nous matters, he went euer to bed at. ix. of the clocke, and
 awoke at. iiii. It was of custome that emperours hadde
 euer lyghtes byennynge in their chaumbre. And therfoze
 whan he awoke, bycause he wold not be ydle, he had euer
 a boke at his beddis heed. And thus in redyng he spent
 the rest of the nyght, tyll it was day. He rose at. vi. of the
 clocke, and made hym redy openly, not angrely, but me-
 rily: he wold demande of theym that were pꝛesent, howe
 they had spent all the nyght tyme. And there he wolde re-
 herse, what he hadde redde that nyght. Whan he was re-
 dy, he wolde washe his handes with very well smellyng
 waters: foꝝ he was a greate louer of al swete odours. He
 had a good and a quicke smellyng. Than in the moꝝning
 befoze euery man, he wolde take. iiii. oꝝ. iiii. moꝝcelles of e-
 lectuarie of sticados, and two draughtes of Aqua vite.
 After that in sommer he wolde go forthwith a fote to the
 riuer side, and there passe the tyme the space of two hou-
 res. And as sone as the heate came, he wold go to the hie
 capitoll to the senate. That done he wente to the college,
 where as all the pꝛocurours and ambassadours of al pꝛo-
 uinces were, and there he wolde be a greatte parte of the
 day, and there here euery nacyon by it selfe, accoꝝdyng to
 the tyme that was deputed by oꝝder. And towarde the e-
 uenynge, he wolde go to the temple of the virgins besta-
 les. He eate but ones a daye, and that was somwhat late,

J.iii.

and

and than he wolde make a good meale, and but of fewe meates. He had a custome euery weke in Rome, or other cities, where as he was, that two dayes late in the eueninge he wolde walke in the stretes without his garde or knyghtis, onely with .x. or .xii. pages, to se yf any person wolde speke with hym, or complayne of any officer of his courte and howse, and this he caused to be demaunded of other men. This good emperour wolde oftentymes say: A good pryncce that wyll rule and gouerne well, and not to be a tyrant, ought to doo thus: That is, that he be not couetous of tributes, nor proude in his commaundementes, nor vnkynde to seruices, nor bolde in the temples, nor dese to here complayntes. In fulfyllinge hereof he shall haue the goddis in his handes, and the hartis of menne shalbe his. All the whyle that this Marke was emperour he had neuer porter at his chaumbre doore, but if it were the two houres that he was with Faustin his wyfe. This good emperour had in his howse a secrette closette locked with a key that he bare hym selfe. And neuer trusted none other therwith to the houre of his deathe. And than he commaunded to delyuer it to Pompeyano, a prudent ancient baron that was married to his doughter: In the which closet he had dyuers bookes writen in al langages, as Greke, hebrewe, latyne, and Caldee, and other antike histories.

The answer of M. the emperour, whan Faustine his wife demaunded the key of his study. Cap. xix.



S it is natural to womē to dispise that thing that is giuen them vnasked, so it is deathe to them to be denyed of that they do demaunde. This emperour had the study or closet of his howse in the mooste secrette place of his palays, wherin he neyther

neyther suffred his wife, seruant, noꝝ frende to entre. On a
 day it chanced, that Faustine the emperesse desired importu-
 natly to se that study, sayinge these wordes: My lord, let
 me se your secrete chaumbre, beholde, I am greatte with
 chylde, and shall dye if I see it not. And ye knowe welle,
 that the lawe of the Romaynes is, that nothyng shall be
 denied to womenne with chylde of that they desyre. And
 yf ye doo otherwise, ye doo it in dede, but not of ryghte.
 For I shall dye with the chylde in my body. And moꝝ o-
 uer I thynke in my mynde, that ye haue some other louer
 within your study. Therfoꝝ to put away the peryl of my
 trauaylynge, and to assure my harte fro Ielousie, hit is
 no greatte thyng to lette me entre into your studye. The
 emperour seinge that Faustines wordis were of trouthe
 bycause he sawe her wordes washed with weping, and we-
 red her on this wise: It is a thyng certayne, whan one is
 contented, he sayth moꝝ with his tongue, than he thyn-
 keth with his hart. And contrary wyse whan one is heuy,
 the eien wepe not so moche, noꝝ the tongue can not declare
 that is locked in the harte. Wayne men with wayne wor-
 des shewe and declare their wayne plesures: And the wise
 men with prudente wordes, dissemble their cruelle passi-
 ons. Among wise men he is wyldest that knoweth moch, &
 sheweth to knowe but lyttelle: And amonge the symple
 he is mooste symple, that knoweth but lyttel, and sheweth
 hym selfe to knowe moche. They that ar prudent, though
 they are demaunded, saye nothyng: but symple folke wyll
 speake inough without as kynge of any question. This
 I say Faustine, bycause thy wepyng hath so hurte me,
 and thy wayne speche so turmented me, that I can not de-
 clare that I fele, noꝝ thou canst not fele y that I say. Dy-
 uers aduertisementes haue they wryten, that haue wryten
 of mariage, yet haue they not wryte, how many trauailes
 that

that one womanne causeth her hus bande to suffre in
 daye. Of a suretie, it is a ioyfull thyng to reioyce in
 chyldehode of chyldezen, but it is a ryght cruel thing to
 fre the importunities of their mothers. The chyldezen do
 nowe and than a thyng that tourneth vs to pleasure: but
 ye women do nothyng but gyue vs displeasure. I shall
 agree with all married men to pardon theyr chyldezens ple-
 sures, for the annoyauce that the mothers gyue to them.

One thyng I haue sene, the whiche neuer begyled me,
 that the iust goddes do gyue to the vniuste menne, that
 all the euylles that they doo in this worlde, shall be re-
 mytted to the furies of the other worlde. But yf they doo
 commytte any synne for the pleasure of any woman, the
 goddis commaunde, that by the handes of the same wo-
 manne, we shall receyue peyne in this worlde, and not in
 the other. There is not so fyers or peryllous an ennemy
 to a man, as is his wyfe. And though a manne can not
 lyue with her as a man, I neuer sawe none so lyghte, be-
 inge with a vicious woman, in doinge vice, but that by
 the same woman at the laste he receyued shame and cha-
 stisement. Of one thyng I am sure, and I saye it not bi-
 cause I haue seene it, but experimented in my selfe, that
 though the hus bande do all that his wyfe wyll, yet wyll
 she do nothyng that her husband wold haue done. Great
 crueltie is amonge the barbaries to holde their wyues as
 sclauies: And no lesse madnes is it of Romaynes, to kepe
 them as ladies. Fleshe ought not to be so leane, that hit
 abhorre: nor so fatte that it cloye the stomacke: but mene
 and enterlarded, to the ende that hit be sauourye. I saye
 that a wyse manne canne not gyue so stronge a byrdell to
 his wyfe, that she wyll obeye as a handemayden, nor
 gyue her so lyttell of the byrdell, but she wyll exalte her
 selfe as maystresse and reuler. Beholde Faustyne howe
 ye

ye womenne are so extreme in all heedlonge extremities,
that with a lyttell fauour ye wylle exalte, augment, and
growe in to great pride: and with a lyttell disfauour, ye
recouer great hatred. There is no parfite loue, where is
no egalitie betwene the louers. And as ye and other are
vnpersfite, so is your loue vnpersfite. I wote well ye vn-
derstonde me not. Therfore vnderstonde I faustine that
I say more than ye wene. There is no woman, that with
her wille wolde suffre any greater than her selfe: nor to
be content to haue an other egall with her. For thoughe
she haue a .M. li. rent, yet she hath .x. M. folyes in her
heed. And that worse is, though it chaunce her husbande
to dye, and she lese all her rent, yet endeth not her folysh-
nes. Herken to me, and I shall tell you more. All women
wolde speake, and haue all other to be styll: they wolde
gouerne and be gouerned of none other. One thyng they
desire, that is to see, and to be sene. And such as be lyght
in folowynge their lyghtnes, they holde as their subiec-
tes and sclaues: and suche as be wyse, and reprove their
appetites, they pursue as enmies. In the annales Pom-
peyens I haue founde a thyng worthy for to be knowen,
and that is: whan Gnee Pompeie passed into the Orient
on the mountaynes Rifees he founde a maner of people
called Masagetes, whiche had a lawe, that euery inhabi-
taunt or dweller shuld haue two tonnes or fattes, bicause
there was lacke of howses in the saide mountaynes: In
one was the husbande, the sonnes and men seruautes:
and in the other the wyfe the daughters and maydens.
On the holy dayes they dyd eate to gyther, and ones in
the weke they lay togyther. Whan great Pompeye had
questioned the cause of their lyuynge in that maner, for
that he neuer sawe nor knewe a more extreme thyng in
all the worlde. One of them answered: Pompey behold,
the

the goddis haue gyuen vs but a short lyfe, for none of vs may lyue aboue. lx. yere at the moste, and those yeres we trauayle to lyue in peace. And in hauyng our wyues with vs styll in companye, we shulde lyue euer dyenge: for we shulde passe the nyghtes in herpyng their complayntes: and the dayes in suffryng their brawlynges & chydinges. In keepyng them this wise from vs apart, they nourishe theyr chyldren more peasibly, eschewyng the noyses that fleeth the fa thers.

I tell the Faustine, that though we cal the Masage's barbariens, in this case they be wiser than the Romayns. One thinge I wyll tell you Faustin, & I pray you marke it wel. If the beastly mouyng of the fleshe enforced not the wyll of man to do his luste, and that he wolde not desire women, I doubt whether women wolde suffre it or loue it the lesse. Of trouth yf the goddis hadde made this loue voluntarie, as it is naturall that is as we wolde we myght, and not as we wold and may not, with great payn a man myght be satisfied, though he shulde lose him selfe for any woman. It is a great secrete of the goddis, and a great myserie to man, that the faynt and weke fleshe doth force the herte whiche shulde be free, to loue that it abhorreth, and to alowe that that domageth. This is a greatte secrete, that men can fele it euery houre as men: and yet by discretion may not remedy it. I enuie not the lyuynge goddes, nor the men that be deed, but for two thynges, and they ben these: The goddis lyue without feare of the that be malicious, and they that be deed are in peace without nede of women. The ayre is so corrupt, that it corrup teth euery man with two pestilent plagues so deadely that the fleshe and the herte endeth. O Faustine, is the loue of the fleshe so natural, that whā the fleshe fleeth scornfully, that we shuld leue the true hart as captiue? And the reson
as

as reason put her to flyght, the fleshe as fleshe forthwith
yeldeth her to you as ouercome.

The emperour reherfeth the perilles of them that
haunt women excessiuely. Cap. xx.



The emperour folowinge his purpose declareth
the vniuersall domages, that come to man by
ouermoche conuersation and hauntinge of
women. And after he had tolde some particu-
lar cases that he had suffred with Faustina his
wyfe, he sayd: I am wel remembred, that in my yonge age I
folowed the fleshe to moch, with purpose neuer to return:
And therfore I cōfesse, yf I had good desires in one day,
in stede therof a. M. days I wrought yll. It is reason yf
ye women fle from them that flee from you, to hyde you
from them that hyde them fro you: to leue them that leue
you: to seperate you fro them, that separte them fro you:
to forgette them that forget you. For some scape fro your
handes yf lamed and effeminate: and other are hurt with
your tonges, many ben persecuted with your werkes, and
the better to scape free, they come away abhorred of your
hartes and bounde to your lyghtnesses. Than who that
feleth this, what getteth he by the atteynyng therof? To
to howe many perylles offereth he hym selfe, that with
women is greatly conuersant: If a man loue theym not,
they count hym as a villeyne: yf he loue them, they think
hym lyghte: if he leaue theym, they repute hym for a co-
warde: if he folowe them, he is lost: yf he serue them, he
is not regarded: yf he serue theym not, he is hated of
theym: yf he wylle haue theym, they wyl nat haue him:
yf he desyre theym not, they wylle seeke on hym: yf he
haunt theym, he is ylle named: yf he haunt theym not,
I.ii. they

they reckon hym no man. / What shall the vnhappy man do? Let men take this for certayne, that though the hus-
 bande do for his wyfe al that he can do as a mā, and that
 he ought to do as a husbāde, and with his weakenes
 do the best that he can, for to fynd remedy agaynst pouer-
 tie with his trauayle, and putte hym selfe in daunger for
 her euery houre, all this shal not please his wyfe, nor make
 her the better: but she wyll say, that the traytre loueth o-
 ther: and that all that he dothe, is onely to accomplyshe
 his pleasure on them. / Many dayes ago I haue
 wylled to tell the this, but I haue differred it tyll now, ho-
 pyng that thou woldest gyue me occasion to telle it the:
 the whiche longe ago thou haste caused me to feele. It is
 no poynt of wise men, that for euery tyme they are an-
 noyed with their wyues, forthewith to hurte theym with
 wordes. For amonge wise men the saide wordes are most
 esteemed when they are well appropried and sayd to good
 purpose. I do bethynke me, that it is. vi. yere sith Antho-
 ny pie thy father did chuse me to be his sonne in lawe, and
 thou me to be thy husbāde, and I the for my wyfe: this
 my fatall destenie dyd permytte, at the commaundement
 of Adrian my lord. My father in law gaue the his faire
 doughter to me for wyfe, and the very sadde and ponde-
 rous empire in maryage. I trowe we were all begyled:
 He to take me for his sonne, and I to chuse the for my
 wife. He was named Anthonie Pius, bycause he was pi-
 tiefull in al thynges, saue vnto me, to whom he was cru-
 ell, for in a lyttell tyme he gaue me many bones: and, to
 say the trouthe, I haue no tethe to gnawe it, nor no heate
 in my stomacke to digeste hit: and many tymes I haue
 thought my selfe losse with it. For thy beautie thou were
 despyed of many, but for thyne yll conditions thou were
 abhorred of al. O howe vnhappy ben thy destenies I au-
 styne,

styn, and howe yll haue the goddis prouided for the. They
 haue gyuen the beautie, and rycheesse for to vndo the: And
 they haue denied and refused to the the beste, that is good
 condicions, qualitie, and wysedome to maynteyne them.
 I say to the agayne, that the goddis haue ben very cruell
 to the, syth they adressed the to the whirlepole, where as
 all yll folke peryshe, and haue taken from the, the sayles
 and oozes, wherby all good folke escape. The. xxxviii. ye-
 res, that I was without wyfe, semed not to me. xxxviii.
 dayes: and the. vi. yeres that I haue bene married, seme
 to me. vi. hundred yeres. I wyl assure the one thyng, that
 if I had knowen before, that I knowe now, and had felt
 than that I fele at this houre, I wold say an other thing:
 and though the goddis wolde commande me, and Adrian
 my mayster wolde commaunde me, I wolde not chaunge
 my pouertie and quietnes, for the mariage of the & them-
 pire. But I haue desired the in thy good fortune, and my
 selfe to myn yll fortune. I haue sayde but a lyttelle, and
 haue suffred a greate deale, I haue fayned a great while,
 but I can fayne no longer. No man suffreth his wyfe so
moche, but he is bounde to suffre moze. Let a man, that is
 a man consider, and lyke wise a woman that is a woman
 consyder, what boldenes she is of that quarelleth with
 her husbnde, and that he is a foole that brawleth openly
 with his wife. For if she be good, he oughte to fauour her
 that she may be the better: yf, she be a shewe, he must suf-
 fre her, that she ware not woys. Every man knoweth, that
 all thyngis suffereth chastisement saue a woman, whiche
 (as a woman) wyl be desired and prayed. I austine beleue
 me, yf feare of the goddis, the shame of her persone, and
 speche of the people withdawe not a woman from euyl,
 all the chastisement of the worlde wyl not ouercome her.
 The harte of man is very noble, and the harte of a wo-
 man

man is deyntie, and wyll haue great hyre for a lyttel goodnes, and for moche euyl no chastisement. A wise man wil knowe what he hath to do or he marie. Than if he determyne hym to take the company of a wife, he ought to enlarge his harte to receyue all that may come with her. It is but a small wytte in a man to sette by the smalle fantasies of his wyfe, or for to chastise openly that may be righted betwene them secretely. He that is wise and wyll lyue quietly with his wife, ought to kepe this rule. Admonishe her often, and reprove her but seldom, and lay no handis on her. For by other meanes he getteth no fidelitie in her, nor good entreatyng of her, nor good byrnyng by of their chylzen, nor seruice to the gooddis, nor any hope of proufite of her. And thus Faustine I wyll say no more to the, but that thou consider, that I do consider, and know that I do se, and that my suffrance vnknownen to the, may suffyse to amende thy lyfe.

The emperours answere to Faustine for that she sayde, she was with chylde. Cap. xxi.



Owe that I haue openid and put out the olde benym, I wyll answere to thy present questiō or demaunde. To the intent that medicins may profite them that be syke, it is necessarie to dispoyle the opilations & lettes of the stomake: Lyke wyse none can counsaile his frende conuenientely, but if he shewe first his grefe. Thou demaundest of me the key of my study, and thou threteneist me, that yf I giue it the not, thou shalte be losse, and hurte with thy fruyte. ye women with chylde haue a good hostage or pledge, for vnder colour of trauaplyng before your tyme, ye wolde haue vs fulfyll all your fonde appetytes. **W**hanne the holy

holy senate in that happy tyme made a lawe in fauour of
 Romaine matrones, they were not so desirous. Nowe I
 wote not howe it is, but ye all are anoyed and wery of all
 goodnes. And all ye in all yll are desyrus and couctous.
 As farre as I can remembre, whanne Camylle made his
 bowe to Cybille the mother of goddis, to send hym victo-
 rie in a battayle, whan he had wonne the victorie, Rome
 was so pooze that it hadde neyther golde nor syluer for to
 make the statue of promesse, the matrones than being, se-
 ing that theyr husbandes dyd offre their lyues in the said
 warre, they granted to present their iewels to the holy se-
 nate. It was a meruayllous thynge to see, that withoute
 any speakynge to them, or without any mans entysement
 they determyned all to gither to go to the hye capitol, and
 there in the presence of euery man presented their owches
 hanginge at their eares, The ringes of their fingers, the
 bracelettes of their armes, the perles fro their attires of
 their heades, the collers from their neckes, The broches
 of their brestes, the girdelles aboute their middels, and
 borders of their gownes. And though that their gift was
 esteemed to a great value, yet their good wylles was este-
 med a great deale more. The rycheesses that they offered
 there was so greatte, that not allonely there was inough
 to perfourme the bowe of the statue, but to pursewe the
 warre. And as than the custome of Rome was, y none dyd
 them any plesure, but he was shortly recōpenced: the same
 day that the matrons dyd offre their ryche and fayre ie-
 welles in the Capitolle, there was graunted vnto theym
 fyue maner of thynges in the Senate: The fyyste, that
 at their deathes the oratours shulde preche, publyshe and
 shewe their good liuinge: The seconde that they shulde
 sit in the temple, where as befoze they were wont to stand:
 The thirde, that they shuld were furred & lyned gownes,
 where

where as befoze they ware none but syngle: The.iiii. that in their diseases they myght drinke wyne, where as befoze on their lyues they durst drinke none, but water: The.v. that the matrones of Rome great with chylde, shulde not be refused of any thynge that they despyed. These fyue thynge for certayne were iustly and wyllyngely graunted by the senate: And why this lawe that commaundeth to denaye nothynge to a woman with chylde was made, I wyl tell the the occasi on that moued the senate so to do. Fuluius Torquate beinge consull in the warre againste the Volseos, the knyghtes of Mauritaryne broughte to Rome a wylde man, that had but one eye, that they hadde taken in huntynge in the desertes of Egypt. And the matrones of Rome were at that tyme as sad and honeste, as they be now bolde and lyght: so was the wyfe of the said Torquate, that was nygh the tyme of her delyueraunce great with chylde, of trouthe a woman so honeste, that for the sobze solytarynes that she kepte in Rome, she hadde no lesse glozve than hadde her husbände in the warres for his worthynes, the whiche was welle proued. For in the. xiiii. yere that Torquate her husbände was in Asye a warre fare, the fyyste tyme that he went thyder, she was neuer sene at the wyndowe lokynge out, and she was not all onely regarded for that, but in all the sayde. xiiii. yeres neuer manchylde nor man aboue the age of. viii. yeres came within her gates. And not content with this, that she dyd to gyue example to all Rome, and to attayne perpetuall memorie, where as she had lefte with her thre sonnes, the eldest of whom was but thre yeres of age: and as soone as they came to. viii. yere, she sente them out of her house to their grauntefathers. And thus dydde this excellent Romayne lady, to the entent that vnder colour of her owne chylzen there shulde none other yonge chylzen enter

entre into her howse. Those yeres passed, after that the good olde man Torquate was retourned fro the warres of the Volseos, the sayde wylde man with one eye wente by the doore of the saide Torquate, and one of her maidens tolde her, that it was a meruaylous thyng to see: and the good lady hadde great desyre to see hym, and bycause there was none to bryng hym to her, that she myghte see hym, she dyed for sorowe. And for certayne thoughe he came often inough by her doore, yet she wolde neuer goe nor loke out at her wyndowe to se hym. Her deathe was gretly bewayled in Rome, for she was in Rome most dearly beloued, and good reason: for many dayes afore was no suche woman brought vp in Rome. And by the commaundement of the senate, the tenour of this wryting in verses were set vpon her sepulchre,

Here lyeth the glorious matron wife of Torquate, that wolde aduenture her lyfe to assure her good fame.

Beholde Faustine, this lawe was not made to remedy the dethe of this matrone, but to the ende that to such as ye be, and to all the worlde it shulde be a perpetual example of her lyfe and memorie of her deathe. It was welle done to ordeine that law for an honest woman being with chylde, that it shuld be kepte to all vertuous women. And vnto women that wold, that the law of them that be with chylde shulde be kept, by the same lawe it is requisite to require that they be honest. In the. vii. table of our lawe it is sayde: we commaunde, that where there is corruption of customes, there liberties shal not be kepte.

Howe tydynge was brought to the emperour,
that the Mauritanes wolde conquer
greate Britayne. Cap. xxii.

In



In the. liiii. yere of Marcus the emperours
 auge, and the tenth yere of his election to
 the empire, In the month of July as he was
 in the cite of Naples, and not in verie per-
 fite helthe, for he was sooze payned with the
 goute in his foote: there came a Centurion in maner of
 a messenger with great hast saying, that in great Britayn
 was sodaynly arryued a great nauie of warre, to the nō-
 bre of C. x. x. shippes of the realme of Mauritain, and the
 quantitie of. xx. M. men on foote, and. ii. M. men of ar-
 mes: and that the kyng of Mauritayns brother was their
 capitayne, named Asclipio, the whiche had taken lande
 at a hauen of the yle called Arpine, and that, to resyste so
 great a power, there were but a fewe people in the sayde
 yle. The good emperour herynge these tidynge, though
 he felte it inwardely as a man, yet he feyned it outwardly
 as a discrete man with a sadde countenaunce and made
 fewe wordes. Than seinge that busines myght not be de-
 layed, he sayde these wordes: I wyll go with a fewe peo-
 ple, and do what I can. For better it were with a fewe to
 go betymes, than to tary for many and goo to late. And
 forthwith the good emperour pourueyed that all they of
 his palays shulde departe to go to Britayne, and none to
 tary behynde to do hym seruyce. The custome was that
 the emperours shulde haue alwaye in theyr houses suche
 men as were mete to be sent forth in any besynesses that
 shulde happen for warre. And after that they were shyp-
 ped, there arriued one of Britayne, that shewed, howe the
 Mauritayns were retourned, so that none of them was
 lefte in the yle. Than this emperour keppe his house, in a
 good poynt. Lyttell occasion suffiseth to them that be na-
turally of yll inclinations / to departe and sprede through
countrys to do harme: therfore he sent them of his houts
 to

the entent, that by occasyon of the warre, they shulde not leade an yll lyfe. Than the emperour fearing the dissolu-
tion of his courte, and boldenes of his officers, to the in-
tent they shulde not leaue vertue and growe in vice, he de-
termyned on a day to call them to hym secretly, and to say
these wordes to them.

What the emperour sayd to them of his courte in
eschewynge ydelnesse. Cap. xxiij.



The greatestt sygne in a vertuous man is to
do vertuous werkes, and vertuouly to sped
and occupie his tyme: and the greatestt signe
of a losse man is to lese his tyme in naughty
warkes. The greatestt happe of all, and the
greatestt desire of men is to lyue longe. For diuers chan-
ces that falle in short tyme may be suffered and remedied
by longe space. Plato sayd: A man that passeth his lyfe
without profite, as one vnwoorthy to liue, oughte to haue
the reste of his lyfe taken fro hym. The fylthe of secrete
chambres, the stynche of the pompe in shypes, nor the or-
dures of cities do not corrupt the ayre so moche, as ydel
folke do the people. And as there is in a man, that occupi-
eth his time well, no vertue but it encreaseth, so in hym,
that occupieth his tyme ylle, there is no bilanie but it is
suspecte in hym. A manne that is alwaye well occupied,
ought euer to be reputed as good: and the ydel man with-
out further enquerie, ought to be cōdemned as nought.
Shewe me now, I desyre you, what nouryssheth the
corrupte and fowle wieses, the nettelles that synge, and
the byers that prycke, but the erthe that is vntilled, and
waren wylde, and the felde full of thystelles, why-
che is not wyded, and visyted with the plowghe?

L. ii.

¶ Rome

O Rome without Rome, that nowe as vnhappy hast but
 onely the name of Rome, bycause thou art so dere in ver-
 tues, and makest vices good cheape. yea yea, and I shall
 tell the, knowest thou wherfore thou art so? bycause thou
 haste vnpeopled the lanes and stretes of werkemen and
 offycers, and haste peopled it all aboute with infinite va-
 cabundes. I knowe for trouthe, that the Samytes, Vo-
 sigoths, Astrogoths, and Deniens spredde in your terry-
 tories, do you not so moche damage as do these ydell and
 losse people stuffed in euery shoppe. All wryters can not
 denie me, that all nations wyllynge to conquere Rome,
 can not take away one loope of the walles of it: and these
 ydell people haue troden and pulled vnder their fete the
 good renowme of it. An infallible rule it is: a man giue
to exercyses is vertuous, and one gyuen to lewtrynges is
a vicious person. What a diuine thyng was it to se the di-
 uine worldes of our predeceffours, the whiche syth Tul-
 lius Hostillius vnto Quintus Cincinatus dictatour, and
 syth Cincinatus vnto Cyncinos, whiche were of the Syl-
 lans and Marians, there was neuer consulle at Rome,
 but he coude do some maner of office or occupation, wher-
 with they were occupied whan theyr office in the Senate
 was ended. Some coude paynte pictures or other flatte
 woorkes: Other coude graue images and poxtry in wood
 or erthe, or other thynges, or coude woike in syluer, and
 other metalles: and other redde in icholes: In such wise
 that the holy senate myght chuse none, but yf he were first
 knowen in some maner handy craft. I do fynde in the an-
 nales all that is aboue sayde: and if I lye I do gyue me
 to the flames of Vulcan. And there was an ancient lawe
 that a myller, a smyth, a baker, or a poynt maker, myght
 not be a Senatour, bycause men of the sayd occupations
 were commonly taken with deceptes and gyles. Than re-
 garde

garde the maner and chaunge of tyme, and the corruptiō
of customes, how that in. CCC. yeres every man trauay-
led for the renoume of Rome. Other thynges I fynde in
the sayde annales worthe of eterne memoire: yet of the
moste auncientes can not be red, the people of Rome ha-
uynge. iiii. perillous warres to gyther, yonge Scipio a-
geynst the Deniens, Mucio agaynst the Cayens, Marel-
lus ageynste Alexander of Macedonie, and an other Me-
tellus his brother ageynst the Celtiberes of Spayne: the
lawe beinge so sore kepte, that none shulde be taken from
the mysterie and office that he occupied, & the senatours
hauynge extreme necessitie of messangers to sende to the
warres, whan the senatours had gone thre dayes aboute
with the censures of Rome, that they coude fynde one y-
dell man to be sente forth with their letters. I wepe for
ioye, that I haue of this antyke felicitie, and I mourne
for compassion of the myserie now beinge. It is a confu-
sion to say, but I wyll say it. Twenty yeres I had offyce
in the senate, and it is. x. yeres syth I haue ruled the em-
pire, whiche is. xxx. in all, In the whiche season I were
by the goddis immortall, I haue caused to whyppe, caste
in welles, to bury quicke, to hange, to picke, and to ba-
nysh mo than. xxx. M. vacabundes, and. x. M. ydel wo-
men. Than what difference is ther betwene that lyfe and
this deathe, that glozy and this perye, of that golde and
this ordure, of that antike Roman werke to our presente
inuentife ydelnes of Rome.

In the lawes of the Lacedemoniens this was writen
in the table of the ydell people: We commaunde as kny-
ges, we praye as seruantes, we teache as philosophers,
and admonyshe as fathers, that the fathers shal first teche
their chyldren to labour the felde, wherwith by trauayle
they may lyue, and not in places, where as by ydelnesse
L.iii. they

they may be lost. And that law sayth ferthermoze: If that yonge people obey not as yonge, we wylle that the aged people do correcte and punyche them as aged. And in case that the fathers be neglygent to commande them, or that they be disobedient: we commaunde the prince than to be diligent to chastise them.

Certainly these wordes are worthy to be noted: wherby Lygurge the kynge deserued eternall memorie for his persone, and the sayde realme perpetuall pease in the common welthe. O Rome, what doste thou? Why regardest thou not these lawes of the Lacedemoniens, whiche with their frendely customes, dothe mocke thy brutall vyces: Sleepest or wakest? O Rome thou wakest all the worlde to leaue swete trauayles, and sleepest in vniust ydelnesses. Thou arte sure of ennemies, and thou careles art drowned in slouth and ydelnes. Than syth that they that bene ferre of, do waken the, thou oughtest to awaken the that thou kepest with the. I wolde speake to all them to gyder of my palays, and longe agon I wylled so to do, but the multitude of straunge besynesses somtyme causeth a mā to forgette his owne.

Of the peryllous lyuyng of them that haunt the courte continually. Cap. xxiui.



Han the emperour ioined these wordis to that he had sayde. Many thynges I haue sene, & of credible persones I haue harde, which me seemed to be yll, and none of them good. Specially one, whiche offendeth the godds, scan- dzeeth the worlde, peruerteth the common welth, and endo- margeth the person selfe: whiche is this cursed slouth and ydelnes that distroyeth them that be good, & vtterly brin- geth

geth to naught them that be yll. Somtime secretely, and halfe as in spozte openly I haue admonysht & rebuked some of you, but I se it proufite none of you. On one side the pricke of reson constrayneth me to chastise you: ageyn consideringe the malice of mankynde, all though that it be prompte to yll, sometyme I am determyned to suffre you. Many tymes I wold with furie chastise you as chyldren, but I do refreyne it, consideringe that ye are ponge, & as yet knowe not the wiles of the world: for they holde so styffely together the yll with the yll, and amonge them make so great a leage of vices with the vices, that there be many that do by gyle suffre theym to be begyled, that whan we escape fro a lyttel wyle, and knowe the begyler, we thynke that we are begyled all redy with other great wyles. I haue meruaylous great compassion of you my seruauntes, speakynge to you as a lord: and to you my chyldren spekyng as a father, for to se you al the day and nyght wandrynge throughe Rome as losse persones: and that worst of all is, I perceyue that ye do not perceyue your owne perdition. What greater beastlynnes can there be, than to se you wander lyke foles from howse to house, fro tauerne to tauerne, from one gasynge to an other, fro strete to strete, fro place to place, fro play to play, fro reuellers to reuellers: And that moze is, that ye know not, what ye desire, nor what ye wold, where ye go, nor whens ye comme, what pleaseth you, or what displeaseth you: What is proufytable or losse vnto you. Nor ye remembre not, that ye were bozne reasonable menne, and that ye lyue as wylde folke amonge menne, and after shall dye as brute bestes. Fro whens wene ye that this cometh? The cause is the desyre of beastely mouinges, not resistinge the desyres of the luste of youthe, and aboue all not applieng your mindes and willes to be wel occupied.

Take

Take hede amonge you of my court e, and forgette not this. Haue ye no thought but to seke newe passe tymes to borow euery daye. No man, of what condicion so euer he be, except he haunt feates of armes, or other lernynge in some ordinarie exercyse, shall haue his body lustye and his spirite quicke: but shall be acloyed in al other thyngis and wander frome strete to strete, as a vacabounde. The harte of man is noble, and hath power continually for all actes, and all pastymes of the bodye: and yet in three dayes it is annoyed of hym selfe alone, so that with hym can not rest one laudable exercyse. Lyke as I am emperoz of all the worlde, so it is reason and muste nedes be, that I haue folke of all nations in my palays. And suche as the prince is, suche shall be his householde, & as his house is, so shall his court be, & as the court is, so shall the hole empire be. For this cause a kynge oughte to be ryght honest: His house well ordered and ruled, his offycers well lerned, and his court well kept in awe. Of my good lyfe dependeth their good lyues, and consequently the yll lyues. Euery nation lerneth in their particular scoles, The Syriens in Babylon: the Persians in Dorces: the Indians in Olympe: the Caldees in Thebes: the Grekes in Athenes: the Hebrewes in Helye: the Latyns in Samie: the frenche men in Olypance: the Spaniardes in Gades: & they all to gether in Rome. The vniuersall scole of al the worlde is the persone, the howse, and court of a prince. As we emperours do say, the same wyl our subiectes say: as we do, they wyl do: that we forsake, they wyl leaue: yf we lese our selves, they wyl lose them selves: if we wyne they wyl winne: and finally our welth is theyr welth, and our harme is their harme. Truly the prince is bounde to kepe his owne persone honestly and wel besene, his hous and court so well ruled, that all they that shall se it, may haue

haue desire to folowe and do thereafter: and that all they that here therof may desire to se it. Take ye hede, and let vs take hede: Haue ye in minde, and let vs haue in mind, that they which be of strāge londes, going through strāge londes into straunge londes, by their great trauayles cōmyng to haue and demaunde succour and remedy of vs, may haue no cause to report any sclanders of our yl customes. What thyng moze monstrous can be noysed amōge men, then that they shulde come and complayn of the theues of theyr countreys to the theues of my courte: what greater shame and inconuenience can be, then to demand Justice of their mans leers, of the mankyllers of my court and house: what crueltie were so cruell as to complayne of the vagabundes of their londes, to the slouthfull and ydell folke of my house: What thyng can be moze shamefull, than to come to accuse them that haue sayde ylle of emperours, befoze them that euery day blasphem the goddis: What thyng can be moze inhumaine, than to come to aske Justice on him that hath transgressid but ones, of them that neuer dyd good werkes: Cruely in suche case the pooze men shulde retourne with their ignorance begiled, and we shulde tarie with our cruell malyce shamed of men, and culpable befoze god. O howe many small matters do we chastise in men of smal reputation, which without breakynge of Justice we myght forbear: and howe many great thinges do the goddis suffre in the hie pryncis and lordes, the whiche, not without Justice they may greuouly punishe: And by that cruell men as cruell, can pardon nothyng: and the goddis pytefull scantely wyll chastyse any thinge. yet for all this, I wolde that none shulde deceyue him selfe: for though the goddis forbear their iniuries, yet they leaue theym not unpunished by straunge Justice. The goddis ben in their chastisementis

As

as

as he that gyueth a blowe to an other, the hyer that he lif-
teth his hande, the greater is the stroke on the cheke. By
semblable wise the mo yeres that they forbere our synnis,
the moze afterwarde do they hurt vs with peynes. True-
ly I haue seene the goddis dyuers tymes to dyuers per-
sones forbere diuers synnes a greatte whyle: but at the
laste I haue sene theym all vnwares chastysed with one
chastisement.

Howe the emperour wolde haue them of his
courte to lyue. Capit. xxv.



Sithe that the goddis haue ordeyned, and my
fatall destenies haue permytted, that I shuld
be chosen emperour (not to slouthfull) I haue
laboured all that I myghte, to visite the em-
pire, ye lyttell yonge folkes that are here, were gyuen to
me of your fathers, for to nouryshe you in my palayes.
And for you that ar bygger I was despyred to receyue you,
in hope to haue giftes and rewardes: and other I dydde
chuse to do me seruice. The intencion of the fathers, whā
they brynge their chyldzen to the court of princis, is to put
them from dalyance of their frendes, and banyshe them
from the wantonnes of their mothers. And me semeth, it
is well done, for the chyldzen fro their youthe oughte to
gyue them selfe to trauayle, wherby they oughte to lyue,
and resiste the disfaueur and falles of fortune, ye are not
come fro your countreies to lerne the vices of Rome, but
to lerne many good maners that are in Rome, and leaue
the yll maners of your landes. All that doo not this, and
forsake trauayle, giue them selfe to do very idelnes. The
miserable Rome hathe moze nede of labourers for to la-
bour, than of lordes and habytauntes Patriciens, that
wyl

wyl but passe the tyme in rest and pleasures. I sweare to
 you, that not for werteng the armes with the craft of we-
 uing, and the syngers with spinnyng, the bordel howses
 nowe adays are fuller of ydell women, than the churches
 of good priestes. And I were againe, that easiler maye
 be founde. x. M. yll women in Rome to serue in pleasure
 of vices, than. x. M. good men to serue in the churches.
 I pray you who sleeth the marchantes in hye ways: who
 dispoyleth wayfaringe men and pilgrimes on the moun-
 taynes: who piketh the lockes and breketh honest mens
 dozes and wyndowes: who robbe by strengthe the chur-
 ches: but these lewtrynge theues, whiche wyl not labour
 by day, but dispose them to rob by nyght. O Rome, what
 harmes come to the for one onely euyl: who hath fylled
 Italy so full of losse people, the palays so full of vnable
 persones, the mountayns so full of theues, the tauernes
 so full of yll womē, and euery place so ful of vacabundes:
 but one, the canker of ydelnes and slouth, whiche destro-
 yeth the good customes more than the wyndes and wa-
 ters thyn olde worne walles. Beleue me one thyng, for I
 wote that I say truthe therin, that the crafte of weauing,
 wherin al the naughty vilanies are wouen and wrought,
 and the sede of all unhappye byces, the slydynge of all
 goodnesse, the fallynge of all theym that be ylle, and the
 awakynge and prouokynge of all these, is but this fowle
 vice of slouth and ydelnesse. And more ouer I saye, that
 there is no vyce amonge all vices, that bredeth so greatte
 a fyre, and causeth so continuall a sickenes of slepe a-
 monge aged folke, and that putteth good folke in soo
 greatt perylle, and dothe so moche domage to theym that
 be ylle, as dothe ydelnesse. who is it that causeth sedyt-
 on amonge the people, and sclander in realmes, but they
 that reste and do nothyng: bycause they wolde eate the
 M.ii. foode

foode gotten by sweat of them that labour: who is it that
 fyndeth newe inuentions of tributes and forayne exacti-
 ons, but ydell men, the which bycause they wyll not work
 with their handes, finde profite with infinite exactions:
 who maketh discetion betwene neighbours but idel folk:
 they diuide their ylle amonge their neighbours, bicause
 they occupie not their forces in good werkes, nor refreine
 their tongues to clatter of other mens liues. who imagi-
 neth in these daies so many malices in Rome, the whiche
 was neuer harde of our fathers, nor redde in our booke:
 but vacabundes that neyther applie nor sette their wittes
 about nothinge els, but thinke howe to endamage other:
 The emperour that coude banishe al these idell persones
 out of his empire, might wel auant him selfe to haue op-
 pressed al the vices of the worlde. I wolde it pleased the
 immortal goddis, that of so many triumphis that I haue
 hadde of straungers occupied in good exercyses, that I
 hadde sene one of the vacabundes of Rome driuen out of
 all houses. There was an auncient lawe, none myght be
 taken and receiued for a citisen in Rome, but he were first
 examined by the Censure. In the time of Cato Censorius
 whan any wolde be a citisen of Rome, this examination
 was made of him: He was not demaunded of whens he
 was, nor what he was, nor whens he came, nor wherfore
 he came, nor of what kinne or auncient stocke he cam, but
 onely they toke his handes betwene theirs, and if they felt
 them softe and smothe, forthewith as an idell vacabunde
 man they dispatched and sent him away: and if they found
 his handes harde, and ful of hard knottis, by and by they
 admitted him a citizen and dweller of Rome. Also whan
 any officers toke any yll doer, and put them in prison that
 was called Marmotine, in stede of inforamation, the first
 thynge that they toke hede of was their handes, whiche
 if they

if they had ben as a labourers hande and a worke man, though his crime were greuous, yet his chastisemēt was mitigate, and moze easpe: and if the unhappye prisoner chāced to haue idel handes, for a litell faut he shuld haue sharpe punyshement. It hath ben an old saying: He that hathe good handes, muste nedes haue good customes. I say, I chastised neuer labouringe man, but I was soze for it: no? I neuer caused to whyppe a bacabunde but I was gladde of it. I wyl tel you moze of this Catho Censorius, whiche was greatly feared. For euen as chylde in the scholes, heringe their maister commynge in, renne to their bokes, So whan Cato went throughe the stretes of Rome euery body went to their werke. O right happy baron, befoze whom the people feared moze to be ydel, thā to do yel befoze many other. Than behold ye at this houre, what force vertue hath, and howe valiaunt a vertuous man is, seinge that all the worlde feared Rome onely for her worthynes in armes: and all Rome feared Cato onely for his vertues. The aduētures of men are so dyuers, and the suspect fortune gyueth so many ouerthwarte turnes, that after that a great space she hathe gyuen greatte pleasures, incontinent we are cyted to her subtyll trauailes of repentaunce. O happy Cato Censorine, who with suche as hath felowed his wayes are nowe sure fro the abatementis of fortune. Than he that wyl haue glozie in this lyfe, and attayne glozie after deth, and to be beloued of many, and feared of all: Let hym be vertuous in doinge of good workes, and deceyue not with bayne wordes. I do sweare vnto you by the lawe of a man of worshyppe, that yf the goddis wolde accomplishe my desyre, I had rather to be Cato with the vertuous policies that he vled in Rome, than to be Scipio with the habundance of blode, that he shedde in Affrike. All we know wel, that

M.iii.

Scipio

Scipio hadde a greate fame in beatinge downe of citties,
 and cuttynge innocentes throttes, and Cato hath attay-
 ned eternal memozy in reforminge the people, pardoning
 trespassours, and teachynge ignorant folke. Than ye
 may all se, if I haue not good reason, moze to desire to be
 Cato to the profit of many, than to be Scipio to the preiu-
 dyce of so many. Lo my frendes these wordes I haue said
 by cause ye may see, that our predeceffours, some in their
 owne landes, other in strange londe, some being yonge
 and some olde in their tymes had gloze in their persones
 for them selfe: and for the world to come haue left no lesse
 memoze for their successours and offsprynge. And we doo
 all the contrarie, I beinge emperour am lothe for to com-
 mande any yll, and our officers for their interest do wors.
 And where as we are sette in diuers plesures by our vice,
 we fal hourelly into diuers miseries, and are noted to our
 great infamie. By the whiche occasion the iust goddis for
 our vniuste workis, giuinge iuste sentence, commaunde
 that we lyue with suspicion, dye with shame, and to be
 buried with forgettefulness, neuer to be had in memoze.
 Than all you of my courte take good hede, and print wel
 my wordes in your myndes: for who so euer I se or fynde
 ydell from hensforth, I discharge hym out of my seruice.
 ye that be lerned may write and rede: ye that be men of ar-
 mes and knyghtes, exercyse you in fetes of warre: ye that
 be officers, occupie you in your offices. And take this for
 certayne, that yf ye take not this for a warnyng and mo-
 nition, that I haue gyuen you betwene you and me, the
 punishmentes that I shall gyue vnto you shall be open-
 ly. And to the entent that ye haue it better in your memo-
 rie, and to be a doctryne to pryncis hereafter to comme,
 this present practyse and remonstrance I haue written in
 all tounge, and set it in the hyghe Capitolle with manye
 other

other of my wytynges. The goddis be keepers of you,
and also they defende and kepe me from yll fortunes and
mysauentures.

Of a meruaylous and fearefulle monster that
was seene in Scicile, and of his wy-
tynges. Capit. xxvi.



In the yere of the foundation of Rome
vii. C. xx. and. xlii. of the age of Mar-
cus the emperour, and. ii. yeres befoze
he toke possession of thempire, the. xx.
day of the month Sextilis, which now
is called August, about the tyme of the
sonne setting, In the realme of Sycil,
than called Trinacrie, in a citie called Bellyne on the see
now named Valerme, a port of the se, there chaced a thing
right perillous to them that sawe it, and no lesse fearefull
to them that shall here it now. As they of Bellyne oz Va-
lerme were than celebratyng a feaste with great ioy: for
the gladnes that their Pirates had ouercome the army of
the Numidiens, and had taken. x. of their ships, and cast
xxxii. persons into the see, bycause at that time they were
ennemies eche to other, and for the euyl woꝝkes they dyd,
were shewed the great passions that passed among them.
And as hit is the customme the thinge that these Pirates
get on the see, they depart it amonge them all, whan they
come home. And whan they comme to lande, they spende
that merily, that they gatte with greatte trauaylle. It is
a thyng well to be noted, howe all good and ylle hartes
are applyed: The good men haue greatte desyre to their
tryumphes, and couetous men to their lucre & winninge.
Thus

Thus men ought to be beloued, though shortly after they oughte to be abhorred. And also they oughte to be abhorred, as though shortly after they oughte to be loued.

Thus than the gouernours of the sayde citie commaunded all the saide thynnes to be sequestred in to theyr owne handes, to the intente that they shoulde not be solde, nor the coueytous people to haue the vantage in the byenge of them. The cause was, for the custome of the men of the ples was, that all thynges shulde be kepte to gether, vnto the ende of the warre, or at leaste tyll they had peace. This was a iuste lawe. For many tymes is made stedfaste appoyntementes bytwene greates ennys, and not all onely for the aunciente hatred, but also for lacke of rycheesse to satisfie the presente damages. Than as all the people were withdrawen in to theyr houses about supper tyme, for it was somer, sodenly there cam a monster in to the myddes of the citie after this shape: He semed to be of two cubites of heygth, and he had but one eye, his heed was all pyllled so that his scull myght be sene: He had none eares, but that a lyttell of his necke was open, wherby it semed þ he herd: He had two croked hornes as a gote: His ryght arme was longer than the left, his handes were lyke horse fete: he had no throte: his necke was egall with his heed: his sholders shone as pytche, his breste and stomake was all roughe of heare, his face was lyke a man, saue it had but one eye in the myddes of his forehead, and had but one nolethyll: from the waste downewarde he was not sene, for it was couered: he sate on a chariot with. iiii. wheles, wherat was two lyons fastened togyder befoze, and two beares behinde: and it coude not be determyned, wherof the chariotte was made, but there was no difference in faction therof and other that were vsed commonly: In the myddis of the sayde chariotte was a caudron lyke a table with

with two eares, wherein the sayd monster was: and therefore it was sene but fro the gyrdelstede bpwarde. He went about in the citie fro gate to gate a long space castyng out spercles of fyre. The feare was so great, that dyuers women with chylde were delyuered with great peryll, and other that were weake harted fell in a swoone: And all the people great and smalle, lesse and moze ranne to the temples of Jupiter, Mars, and Phebus, makinge importunate cries and clamours. And the same season al the said Pyrates were lodged in the gouernours palays named Solyn. He was of the nation of Capue, and there was all the richesse kepte: and whan this monster had ben ouer all the citie with his chariot, than the lyons and beares brought hym to the palays, where the Pyrates were, and beinge very nygh to the gates that were faste closed, the monster cut an eare of one of the lyons, and with the bloode therof he wrote these letters. R. A. S. P. J. P. These letters were a pzoef to all thyem of high spiryte to giue declaration of them: and there was mo declarations than there were letters. But finally a woman diuineresse, or contrary, asothsayer, that was had in great reputation for her craftes, made the very declaration of the sayd letters, saying thus. R, reddite. A, aliena. S, si vultis. P, propria. J, in pace. P, possidere. Whiche all to gether is to saye, Render that perteyneth to other, yf ye wylle in peace possesse your owne. Surely the Pyrates were soze affrayed of that dedefull commaundement: and the womā was greatly praised for her high declaration. Thā forthwith the same nyghte the monster went into a highe mountayne called as than Janitia, and there by the space of thre days was in the syght of all the citie: and in that season the lyons made great royinge and howlynge, and the beares and monster kesse out great fearefull flames.

R

And

And all that feson there neyther appered byrde in the aire, nor beaste in the felde, and all the men offred great sacrifices to the goddis, in suche wise that they brake the beynes of their handes and fete, and offered the blode, to se if they might appease their goddis. After the thre days passed, sodeinly appered a clowde blacke and derke vpon the erthe, and it began to thunder and lyghten, with a greate erthe quake, so that many howses fell in the cite, and many of the dwellers and citesins died. And than sodeinly there came a flame of fyre from the monster, and brent all the palays, where the sayd Pyrates were, and the ryche-esses that were in it, so that all was consumed in it, yea the very stones: and the damage wes so great, that there fell mo than.ii. M. houses, And there dyed as good as.x. M. persons. And in the same place on the toppe of the mountayne, where as the monster was, theperour comanded to edifie a temple to the god Jupiter, in memory of the same. Of the whiche temple theemperour Alexander, hauynge warre with them of the realme, made a stronge castell.

What befell to a citesen of Rome in the tyme of this emperour Marcus. Cap. xxvii.



In the same tyme that this aduenture chaunced in that yle, there was dwellynge in the same citie a Romaine named Antygone, a lorde of noble bloudde, and somewhat entred in age: and about two yere befoze, he, his wyfe, and a doughter of his were banyshed Rome, and not his sonnes. The occasion was, There was an auncient laudable custome, syth Quintus Cincinatus dictatour, that two of the auncient senatours togyther shulde go with the censure newly created, and the olde, in the month of Decēbre
for

for to visite all Rome: and they to call euery Romayne a-
 parte alone, shewyng hym the. xii. tables of their lawes,
 and particular decrees of the senate, demandyng of them
 if they knewe any neyghbour in their quarter, that had
 broken these lawes. And if they dyd, it shuld be informid
 to the senate. And there all to gyther to ordeyne punyshe-
 ment accor dyng to the diuersitie of the fautes that they
 hadde commytted: But the fautes commytted that pre-
 sent yere, they myght not chastyse, but to aduertise them
 to amende afterwarde. And all suche as were ones war-
 ned, and in the next visitation founde styll vnamended,
 to be greuouly punysshed, and sometime banysshed. These
 were the wordes of the lawe in the. v. table and third cha-
 piter: It is ordeined by the holy senate, by consent of blys-
 full men, recepyng the auncient colonies, that if men be-
 inge men in one yere do trespas, the men as menne for the
 saide yere shal dissimule and forbere: but if they that be yl
 as yl, do not amend, they that be good, as good, shal cha-
 stise them. Also the sayd law saith: the first fautes are suf-
 fred, bicause they are comitted with weke ignozāce: but if
 they cōtinue them, & they be chastised, bicause their yl co-
 meth of slouth & malice. This inquisition was euer made
 in the moneth of Decēbre, bicause that soone after in the
 month of Janiuer the offices in Rome were diuided. And
 it was reson, that they shuld knowe to whom they shulde
 giue or denie their dignities: to thentent that good shulde
 not be chosen in stede of yl, nor the yl in stede of good. The
 pticular cause why they banysshed the mā & his wife with
 their doughter was this: The second emperour of Rome
 August ordeined, that none shuld be so hardy to pis at any
 dozes of the tēples: and Caligula the. iiii. emperour com-
 māded, that no woman shulde gyue any cedulaes to hange
 about the peoples neckes, to heale the feuer quartayne.

R. ii.

And

And Cato Censozrne made a lawe, that no manne nor yonge mayden shulde speake togyther at the conduites or welles, where they fetcht water, nor at the ryuer where they washed their clothes, nor at the ouens where they baked breade, bycause all the yonge people of Rome that were wylde and wanton ranne euer thyder. So it befelle, that as the censures and consules visited the quarter called mount Celio, there was a dweller named Antigonus accused, that he was sene pissyng against the temple wall of Mars: and his wyfe was accused, that she had solde cedulaes for feuer quartaynes: and lykewise his doughter was accused that she was sene at the conduites, ryuers, & ouens, spekyng and laughing with yonge men of Rome: The whiche was a great shame to the maydens of Rome. Than the censures seinge the yll order, that they had found in the house of the said Anthigone by the registers, by due examination, beinge warned, afoze they were banysht in to the yles of Cycill, for as long as it shuld please the senate. And lyke as in edifices sumptuous and of greatte estimation one stone is not decayde or wythted out without shakynge or mouynge of an nother: euen lyke wyse is it in the chaunces of men. For commonly one vnhappyes chaunceth not, but an other foloweth. And I saye this bycause Anthigone lost not allonely his honour and welthe, but also he was banysht, and besyde that by the tremblyng of the erthe his house fell downe, and slewe a welbeloued doughter of his. And all the whyle that this was done at Rome, and that befell of the monster in Cycill, Marke the emperour was in the warres against the Aragons, and there he receyued a letter from Antygone, wherein was rehersted his banyshtynge, wherof the emperour hadde greatte compassion, and to comfort hym, sent hym an other letter.

Of a great pestilence that was in Italy in
this emperours tyme. Ca. xxviii.



Two yere after the dethe of Anthony the meke,
father in law to Marcus Aurelius, and father
to Faustine, there fell a pestilence in Italye.
And it was one of the .v. great pestilences a-
monge the Romayne people. This mortalitie

dured the space of two yeres, and it was vniuersall tho-
rough out all Italy, to the great damage and feare of all
the Romaines, for they thought that the goddis wold haue
dstroyed them, for some displeasure that they had done a-
gainste them. There dyed so many, as wel of great estate,
as ryche and pooze, great and small, yonge and olde, that
the wyters had lesse trauayle to wryte the small nombze of
them that were lefte alpyue, than to wryte of the multitude
of them that were deed. Lyke as whan a great buyldynge
wylle falle, firste there falleth some stone: In lyke wise the
Romayns neuer had no great pestilence in their tyme, but
first they were thzetyed with some token, signe, or prodige
fro heuen. Two yere befoze that Haniball entred into I-
taly in an euenynge, whan the wether was clere & faire,
sodeynely it rayned bloudde and mylke in Rome. And it
was declared by a woman, that the blode betokened cruel
warre, and the mylke a mortall pestilence. Whan Scilla
retourned from Champayne, to put Marius his ennemie
out of Rome, his men of warre and knyghtes sawe in a
nyght a fountayne that ranne bloudde, and who so euer
was bathed therein, semed to be poysoned with venyene.

Of the whiche prodigie folowed, that of. ii. C. and. l. M.
dwellers in Rome, what with theym that dyed with the
swerde, and other consumed by pestilence, were consumid
with Scilla, and of them that fledde with Marius, of the

R.iii.

sayd

said great multitude of Romayns, there abode alpye no
 mo but. xl. M. persons. Certaynly Rome neuer receyued
 so great domage in. vi. C. yeres before, as they dydde by
 their owne propre people. All the tyzautes were neuer so
 cruel ageinst strange landes, as the Romayns were than
 ageinst their owne propre landes. And this seemeth to be
 true, bycause the same day y^e Scylla passed throug Rome
 with his bloody swerde, a capitayn of his sayd to him: Sir
 Scylla if we flee them that beare armour in the feldes, &
 them that bere no armour in their houses, with whom shal
 we lyue? I coniure the by the hie goddis, syth we be born
 of women, let vs not flee the women: and syth we be men,
 let vs not flee the men. Thou thinkest that in sleinge all
 the Romaynes to make a comon welthe of beastis of the
 mountayne. Thou entrest with a crie to defende the com-
 mon welthe, and to put out the tyzautes that distroye the
 common welthe, and we do remayne tyzauntis our selves.
 To myn vnderstandinge that capitayne merited as great
 gloxie for the good wordes that he spake, as Scylla dydde
 merite chastisement for the crueltie that he dyd. This we
 haue sayd, bycause that er suche damages dyd fall, there
 proceded before certayne prodigies and tokens. No lesse
 token was shewid before the mortalite that fel in the time
 of this good emperour, the whiche was a feareful thing.
 The case was so: On a day as the emperour was at the te-
 ple of the virgins Vestales, sodeynly there entred in two
 hogges, and ranne about his fete, and there felle downe
 deed: and on an other day as he came from the hygge ca-
 pytoll, for to haue gone out at the gate Salaire, he sawe
 two kytes ioyninge to gyther with their talantes: and so
 fell down deed at the emperours fete. And within a shorte
 whyle or season after, as the sayd emperour came fro hun-
 tyng his houndes rennyng at a wylde beast, as he gaue
 two

two greyhoundes that he loued well, water to drinke with his owne handis, sodeinly they fel downe deed at his fete. Than he remembryng the swyne, the kytes, and the greyhoundes deed so sodeynly, he was greatly dismayed, and assembled all his priestes, magitiens, and diuines, demādyng what they sayd to the prodigies, and they by those thinges passed iudged the dede present, and determyned that within two yeres the goddis wold sende great & greuous punyshementes to Rome. Than within short while after, there began a warre agaynst the Parthes, wherby there fel the yere after great famyn and pestilence amonge the Romayns. This pestilence came with sores vnder the arme pittes, so that al the senate fledde away, and the emperour alone abode styll in the capitoll. Than the ayre began to be so corrupte, that though he scaped the pestilence yet he was vexed with hote feuers. wherfoze he was fayne to leaue Rome, and went into Champayn: and synally in the citie of Naples he made his abode duringe the tyme that the pestilence was in Rome.

Howe Mar. answered his phisitiens that wold haue him leaue his studie. Cap. xxix.



He emperour beyng in the sayde cytie of Naples, where as other soughte pastyme to conserue their lyues, this emperour occupied him selfe in his bokes to augment science. A man coude do hym no better seruice, than to seke to gette hym a newe boke: not suche as was written in his tyme, but such as were forgotten for age. This emperour was not onely a louer of olde and antyke bokes, but also of auncient stozies, and sette very great stozie by them: And he thus beinge in this cytie sycke and very yll at ease,
there

there was brought to hym out of a citie of Asia called He-
 lia, by certayne Hebrewes, a boke wrytten in Hebrewe: & he
 toke suche pleasure in that boke, that oft tymes he wolde
 leaue his meate and go to study: and for all that he was
 in his hote feuer, he wolde not leaue to rede for all that
 his phisitians warned hym, and his frendes prayed him:
 and they that were aboute hym, counsayled hym, and de-
 maunded hym, why he left to procure the helth of his per-
 sone in so moche redynge. He aunswered: By the goddis
 that we honour I coniure you, and for the frendshyp that
 is betwene vs, I praye you lette me alone. ye knowe well,
 that suche as are of a delycate bloode, haue not so moche
 sollicitude as the rusticall people, that haue harde sinewes
 and be of a moze harder complexion. Lyke maner they of
 clere vnderstandynge haue nede of other medicines, and
 to be heled with oither syzopes than they of grosse vndersta-
 dyng. This is the differēce that I haue of eyther of them:
 The ydeot kepeth diete frome bokes, and restethe on his
 meate, and the wise man abhorreth meate, and drawethe
 hym to his bokes. If they knewe, that knowe not, what
 thyng knowledge is, I sweare to you, they shulde se what
 auayleth moze the lytell knowledge that a wyse man hath,
 than the greatte ryches of the riche man. For the mysf-
 erable ryche persone, the moze that he encreaseh in ryche-
 esse, the moze he dimynyssheth in frendes and groweth in en-
 nemies to his damage. And he that is wyttie, the wyser
 that he is, the better he is beloued of them that be good, &
 feared of them that be yll for his profite. One of the thin-
 ges, wherin I holde my selfe moste bounde to the goddis
 is this, that they haue caused me to compas the tyme as
 I haue done, the whiche is no lyttel gyft for a man to liue
 in this worlde. I say it is, bycause I haue had great com-
 passion of the poore, that be very poore, of wydowes, of
 them

them that be sorowfull and vnhappy, and of Ophelins. But without comparyson I haue had greatest compassion of them that lack knowlege. For the goddis making men ignozant by naturalitie, they myghte haue ben made goddis by counnyng and knowlege: and as the slouthfull men are tamed and made lesse than men by their negligence, certaynly blessed is that man that is not content to be a man, but if he procure more than a man by his vertue. And cursed is that man that knoweth not to be a mā, but maketh him selfe lesse than a man by his vice. By the iugement of all philosophers, there is but one, that is the first cause, whiche is one godd immortalle: and if there be dyuers goddis in the heuens, it is bicause there are diuers vertues in the erthe. And in the worldes that is past whā the simple men were seruauntes and bonde men, and the good men rulers and gouernours, they were then so esteemed, bycause they were knowen and renoumed in good werkes whanne they lyued. So that they were holden and reputed as goddis after their deathe. This is the ryghte rewarde that commeth of vertue. It is a thyng consonant to reasone, they that be good amonge so many yll in this lyfe, that they shulde be greattely honoured amonge the goddis after their deathe. ye are not wel content with me, bycause I am alway redyng: but I am worse content with you, bycause I neuer se one boke in your hādes: ye thinke it gret trauayle to a sycke man to rede, and I repute it a very perillous thyng for a hole man to reste and be idell. ye say my redyng is cause of my feuer quartayne in my flesshe: and I saye that ydelnes engendzeth great pestilence. Syth I may profite by my bokes, let no man haue compassion of my trauayle. For I desire rather to dye as a wise person amonge wyse men, than to lyue ignozantly amonge men. I demaunde one thyng of you:

D

A man

A man presuminge to be a man and not lerned, what difference is betwene hym and other beastes? Certaynly the beastes are moze profitable to labour the erthe, than symple persons be to serue the common welth. A poze ore giueth his skynne to make shone, his fleshe to be eaten, and his strength to labour: and a pooze symple shepe doth profite, his flece and woll to make cloth, and mylke to make chese. But what profiteth a folysh ideot man? Nothing but offendeth the goddis, sclaundereth innocentis, eateth the bzeade of other, and is chiefe heed of vacabundes. Of trouth if it lay in my handes, I had rather gyue lyfe to a symple ore, than to a malycious ideot. For the beast liueth for the vtilitie of dyuers without doinge domage to any other: and the simple ideot man lyueth to the domage of all other, and without proufite to any persone. Therfore thinke well why I am not pleased with them that be ignorant, and loue them that be lerned. Harke syrs, and I shall shew you: That mā semeth good, whan he is meke and gentyll of condition, softe in wordes, and restfull in his persone, and gracious in conuersation: and contrary wise, that persone sooze displeaseth me, that is sharpe of wordes, sooze moued in his werkes, riottous in his condition, and double of his promys, and harde harted. Also I say, that if any thinge fayleth a wise man by nature, he supplyeth it by science: and he that is ignorant and folysh, if he faileth discretion, he supplyeth therto his malice. And trust ye surely, that a worthy vertuous mā thereby becometh wise, and he is to be trusted: and he that is of an other maner, beware of hym, for he gothe about to sell his malice. He that wyl begile an other, the first thing that he dothe is, he putteth him selfe to be simple and ignorant. For a man benige in credence may soone sprede abrode his malyce. These mothes and softe wormes frete the

create the clothe : and the canker worme perceth the bone,
and flateringe men begyle all the worlde.

Howe science ought to be in princes. Ca. xxx.



He said emperour folowing his purpose, said:
frendes beholde, howe great damage igno-
rance dothe to all men. And though it be do-
mageable to euery man, yet it is moſte hurte-
full to a prince, whiche ought not onely to be
content to knowe as moche as any other wiſe perſon knoweth,
but to knowe that euery man knoweth, ſithe he is
lord of all other. To my iugement theſe princes are not
choſen, that they ſhulde eate moze mete than all other, nor
to be appareyled rychelier than all other, nor to renne fa-
ſter than all other : but with preſuppoſition y they ought
to knowe moze than all other. Whan a prince wylle re-
frayne his ſenſualitie, than he ought to regarde, that his
perſon be right honeſt, and remembre this worde that is :
The greater that a prince is of power aboue other, the
greater oughte his vertue to be aboue all other. For cer-
tainly the greateſt infamie is, to ſe a man moſt mightie
aboue all other, and moſt ryche of all other, and than to
be known an ideot and leſſe of knowlege than other. Al
defautes in a gouernour may be bozne ſauſe ignorance,
for ignorance in a prince is a ſtroke of peſtilence: it ſleeth di-
uers, and infecteth al perſons, and vnpeoplet the realme, cha-
ſeth away frendes, and giueth hart to cunnies of ſtrange nati-
ons, that were in drede, and finally domageth his perſon, and
ſclādeth euery one. Whā Camill triumphed ouer the frēch-
mē, the day of his triūph, he wrote theſe wordes in the ca-
pitoll: O Rome, thou haſt ben moder of al wiſe men and ſtep-
dame to al ſoles. Theſe were worthe wordis of ſuch a lord.

D.ii.

And

and but if my remembrance begyle me, certaynely Rome was moze renoumed for wyse persones that came thyder, than for the featis of warre that were sente frome thense. Our auncient Romaynes were moze feared for their wise dome and knowlege than for their conquestes. All the erth feared them moze that tourned leaues of bokes in Rome, than they that were armed with armour. For that cause Rome was neuer vanquished: and though their armies were deuyded and broken, yet they neuer lacked wyse men. I can not say it without teares, Rome is fallen from the most hight of her estate: not for faut of money and armes for to fight withall, but for lacke of wise men, and vertuous for to gouerne. Our forefathers wanne lyke men, and we lese lyke simple childzen: al thinges that are desired of men, they attayne by trauayle, susteyne with thought, and departe fro with great annoyance. And the reason is this: There is nothyng so good nor so well be loued, but the cours of tyme causeth vs to leaue it, and to dyspryse and abhorre it, or be wery therof. This is the vayne vanitie of the worlde, and lost tyme lost: for with their yong desires they do refrayne their desires. They wold oftentimes attayne a thinge, and after they studie howe to go therfro agayne. And yet to shewe further their lyghtnes, that that cost moche, they gyue for a lyttell pryce. That they loue at one tyme, they hate at an other: and that that they with great study and labour haue attained, with greate furpe they forgo. And me thinketh this is the ordinaunce of the goddis, that he that loueth shall haue an ende, and that is beloued shall take an ende: and the tyme that we are in shall ende. Than it is reason, that the loue, wherwith we do loue, shall ende in lykewise. Than our appetite is so dishonest, that in seing we desire it, and in desiringe we procure it: and in procuringe we attayn it: and in the attayning

attaynyng we abhorre it: and in abhorryng, we leaue it:
 and than forthewith agayne we procure an other thyng,
 and that newe procuringe we abhorre ageyne: In suche
 wise, that whan we begyn to loue a thyng, than we falle
 ageyne to hate it, and in the fallynge to hate it, we begyn
 ageine to loue an other thinge. So thus finally our lyfe
 doth ende, er our couetyse dothe leaue vs. It is not thus
 of wysedome and knowlege, the which if it ones entre in-
 to a mans hart, it causeth hym to forget the trauayle þ he
 had taken in the attaynyng therof. For he taketh the time
 past as good, and enioyeth with rightful ioy the time pre-
 sente, and hath ydelnes in hate. For is not content with
 that he knoweth, but enforceth his appetite to know more
 lounge that other leaueth: and leauynge that other lo-
 ueth. Finally he þ is perfittly wise, sporteth in this worlde
 with trauayle, and in trauayling in bokes is his rest. We
 haue not to say of all thinges, but of that we fele of them.
 For it is an other maner to speake by similitude of a stran-
 ger, and of our owne experience. And in this case I saye,
 that though we hope of no rewarde of the goddis, nor ho-
 nour amonge men, nor memoire of the worlde to come, yet
 am I ryght gladde to be al onely a philosopher, to se how
 glorioys ly the philosophers haue passed their tyme. I de-
 maunde one thyng, whan myn vnderstondyng is obfus-
 ked in that I haue to do, and whan my memoire is trou-
 bled in that I haue to determyne, and whan my bodye is
 compassed with dolours, and whan my harte is charged
 with thoughtis, and whan I am without knowlege, and
 whan I am set about with perylls: where can I be better
 accompanied than with wise men, or els redyng amonge
 bokes: In bokes I fynd wysedom, wherby I may lerne:
 also there I fynde worthynes, which I may folow: I find
 there prudence to counsell me, I fynde suche as be sorow-

full, with whom I may wepe: I finde there them that be mery, with whome I may laughe: I fynde there symple folke, at whom I may spozte: I fynde that is noughte, whiche I maye leaue: And finally in wrytyng I fynde, howe in prosperitie I ought to behaue me: and howe in aduersitie I oughte to guyde me. O howe happy is that man, that hath wel redde: And yet more happy is he, that though he knoweth moche, yet stayeth vpon counsel. And if this be true generally, than moche more is it necessarie he to kepe the true way, which gouerneth al other. It is a rule infallible, that a prince being wyse, can neuer be simply good, but very good: and the prince that is ignorant can not be simply yll, but very yl. A prince that is not wel fortunate, his wysedome may greatly excuse hym to his people of his myl fortunes giuen to him by fortune. Whā a prince is greatly beloued of his comontie, and is vertuous of his persone, than euery man sayth, if he haue not good fortune: Al though our prince wāt good fortune, yet his worthy vertues fayle not: and though he be not happy in his ententis, yet at the least he sheweth his wysedom in the meane season: And though fortune denye hym at one howze, yet at an other tyme she agreeth by his wysedome. And contrary wise an vnwyse prince, and hated of his people, by sinistre fortune renneth into great peryll. For if yll succede to him in weighty matters, than incontinent it shalbe sayd, it is by reason of the ignorance of him selfe, or by yll counsel of such as be about hym: & if goodnes succede to him, it shall not be attributed by reason of his good gouernance, but that fortune hathe suffered it, and not by the circumspect wysedome that he hath hadde in the meane season, but that it was of the pitie that the goddis had of hym. Than sithe it is thus, a vertuous & worthy prince in his ydell tymes oughte secretely to rede

in booke, and openly to common and counsell with wyse men. And in case yll fortune wyll not permyt hym to take their councelles, yet at the leaste he shall recouer credence amonge his subiectes. I wyll saye no moze to you, but I esteeme the knowlege of a wise persone, so that if I knewe that there were shops of sciences, as there is of other merchandise, I wold giue al that I haue onely to lerne that a wyse manne lerneth in one daye. Fynally I saye, that I wyll not gyue that lytell that I haue lerned in one houre, for all the golde in the worlde: and moze glozve haue I of the booke that I haue redde, and of suche woꝝkes as I composed, than of all the victozies that I haue had, oz of the realmes that I haue wonne.

What a vilayne saide to the senatours of Rome in the pꝛesence of the emperour. Cap. xxxi.



His emperour being sicke, as it is aforesaid, on a day as there were with him diuers phisitiens & oratours, there was a purpose moued among them, how gretly Rome was chaꝑged, not al only in edifices but also in customes, & was ful of flaterers, & vnpepled of men ȳ durst say the trouth. Than the emperour sayd: In the fyrst yere ȳ I was cōsull, there cam a poze vilayn from the riuer of Danubie to aske iustice of the senate ayenst a cēsūre, who did diuers extorziōs to the people: and he had a small face & great lippes, & holow eyed, his heer curled, & bare heeded, his shoes of a porkepes skyn, his cote of gotis heer, his girdel of boll rushes, & a wild eglātine in his hāde, it was a strāge thing to se him so monstuous, and meruaylle to here his purpose. Certainly whan I saw him com into the senate, I wend it had ben som beest in the figure of a mā.

And

And after I had herde hym, I iuged hym one of the god-
 dis, if there be goddis amonge men. And as the custome
 in the senate was, that the complayntes of the pooze per-
 sons were hard before the requestis of the ryche: this vil-
 layne had lycence to speake, and so beganne his purpose,
 wherein he shewed hym selfe as bolde, as extreme & base in
 his aray, and sayd: O ye ancient fathers and happy peo-
 ple, I Myles dwellynge on the ryuers and cityes of the
 fludde of Danubie do salute you senatours that are here
 assembled in the sacred senate. The dedes permitteth, and
 the goddis suffreth, that the captayns of Rome with their
 great pride haue reduced vnder subiectiō the vnhappye
 people of Germany. Great is the gloxie of you Romayns
 for your battayles that ye haue wonne throughout all the
 world. But if the wyters say tru, more gruter shalbe your
 infamy in tyme to com, for the cruelties that ye haue done
 to the innocentes. My predecessours had people nygh to
 the flode of Danubie, and bycause they dyd ylle, the erthe
 waxed drie, and they dzeue to the fresshe water: than the
 water was noyfull to them, and they returned to the ferm
 land. What shall I say than: your couetysle is so great to
 haue straungers goodes, and your pride so renowned, to
 commaunde all strange landes, that the see may not pro-
 fite vs in the depenes therof, nor the erthe to assure vs in
 the caues therof. Therfore I hope in the iust goddis, that
 as ye without reason haue caste vs out of our howses and
 possessions: that other shall come, that by reason shall cast
 you out of Italy and Rome. And an infallible rule it is,
 that he that taketh an other mans good, shal lese the right
 of his owne. Regard ye Romans, though I be vilayne,
 yet I knowe who is iuste and rightwysle in holdynge his
 owne: and who a tyrant, in possessinge others. There is
 a rule, that what so euer they that be yll haue gathered in
 many

many dayes, the goddis taketh fro them in one day: and contrarie wise all that euer the good haue losse in many dayes, the goddis restozeth to them agayn in one day. Be-
 leue me in one thyng, & doute not therin, that of the vnla-
 full winning of y^e fathers, there foloweth there after the
 iuste losse to their chyldren. And if the goddis take frome
 them that be yll euery thyng that they haue wonne, as
 soone as it is wonne, it were but reasone, but in lettynge
 them alone, therby they assemble by lytel and lytel dyuers
 thinges. And than whan they thinke leaste thereon is ta-
 ken from them all at ones. This is a iust iugement of the
 goddis: that syth they haue done yll to diuers, that some
 shulde do yll to them. Certaynly it is nat possible to any
 vertuous man, if he be vertuous, that he take any tast in
 an other mans good. And I am soze abashed, how a mā
 kepinge an other mans good, can lyue one houre. Syth
 he seeth y^e he hath done iniurie to the goddis, sclādzed his
 neybour, plesed his enmies, lost his frēdes greued them
 that he hath robbed, and aboue al hath put his owne per-
 son in peryll. This is a shamefull thyng amonge men,
 and culpable befoze the goddis, the man that hath the de-
 syze of his harte, and the bydelle of his warkes at suche
 lybertie, that the lyttell that he taketh and robbeth fro the
 pooze, semeth moche to hym: but a great dele of his owne
 semeth to him but lyttel. What an vnhappy man is he,
 whether he be greke or latyn, that without consideration
 wyl change his good fame in to shame, iustice into wrog,
 right in to tyranny, or trouth into lesinge, the certayn in-
 to vncertayne, hauynge annoyance of his owne goodes,
 and dye for other mens: He that hath his principall intē-
 tion to gather goodes for his chyldren, and seke not for a
 good name amonge them that be good: It is a iust cause
 that he lese all his goodes, and so without good name to
 be

to be shamefull amonge them that be yl. Let all couetous and auaricious people knowe, that neuer amonge noble men was gotten good renoume with spredynge abrode of yll gotten goodes. It can nat endure many days, noz yet be hydden vnder couert many yerres: a man to be holden ryche amonge them that be ryche, and an honozable man amonge them that be honozable: for he shalbe infamed of that he hath gathered his ryches with great couetyse, or kepeth it with extreme auaryce. If these couetous people were as couetous of their owne honour, as they be of other mens goodes: I swere to you, that the lyttel worm or mothe that eateth the gownes or clothes of suche couetous people, shulde not eat the rest of their lyfe, noz the cankre of infamie distrope their goode name and fame at their deathes. Harke ye Romaynes, harke what I wyl say, I wolde to the goddes that ye coude taste it. I se that all the worlde hateth pryde, and yet is there none that followeth mekenes and humilitie: Euery man condemneth aduoutrie, and yet I see none that lyueth chaste: Euery man curseth excesse, and I se none lyue temperately: euery man prayseth pacience, and I se none that wyl suffre: euery mā blameth slouth, and I se none but they be idel: euery one blameth auaryce, and yet euery body robbeth. One thinge I say, and not without wepinge: I say euery man with his tongue onely prayseth vertues, and yet they them selves with all their lymmes are seruantes vnto vices. I say not this onely for the Romaynes, whiche bene in Illirie: but I say it by the senatours that I se in the senate. All ye Romaynes in your deuises about your armes beare these wordes: *Romanorum est debellare superbos, et parcere subiectis*, That is, it pertaineth to Romaynes to subdewe theym that be proude, and to forgyue subiectes. But certaynely ye maye better say: hit pertaineth to Romaynes

maynes to expelle innocentes, and to trowble and bere wrongefully peasible people: For ye Romaynes are but destroyers of peasible people, and theues to robbe frome other, that they sweate for.

Of dyuers other thinges that the vilayne sayd before the senate. Cap. xxxii.



ye Romayns (said this villayne) what action haue ye, that are brought vp nygh to the ryuer of Thyber, agaynste vs that are nygh to the ryuer of Danubie: Haue ye sene vs fren-

des to your ennemies: or haue we declared vs your ennemies: or haue ye herde, that we haue lefte our owne lande, and inhabited any straunge landis: or haue ye herde, that we haue rebelled ageynst our lordes, or haue troubled any strange realmes: or haue ye sent vs any ambassadours, to desire vs to be your frendes: or hath any hoste of ours come to Rome to distroye you, as our ennies: or hath any king died in our realme, that in his testament made you heires to our realme: or what antike lawe haue ye founde, wherby we ought to be your subiectis: Of trouthe in Almayne hereby they haue felte your tirannie, as wel as we haue herde of your renoume. And more ouer I say, that the names of the Romayns, & the cruelties of tyrantis aryued to gither in one day vpon our people. I wote not what ye wyll say, that the goddis care not of the hardines of me: for I se þ he that hath moche, yet doth he tirāny to him that hath but litell. And he þ hath but lytel, though it be to his infamy, yet he wyl serue him þ hath moch. So that disordred me appoint the with secrete malice, & þ secrete malice giueth place to opē theft: and to the open robbery no mā resisteth. And therfore it cometh, that the couetise of an yll man necessarily is hadde

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to be

to be complete to the prejudice of many good men. One thinge I wyl say, that eyther the goddis ought to thinke howe these men shall haue an ende, or elles that the world must ende: or els the worlde to be no worlde: Or fortune must holde sure with you, if all that ye haue won in. viii. C. yeres ye lese not in. viii. dayes. And where as ye are become lordes ouer many, ye shall become slaues to all the worlde. Certainly the goddis shall be vniuste, without that thinge come that must fall in the worlde hereafter. For that man that maketh him selfe a tyrant parforce, It is right that he retourne to be a slaue by Justice. And it is reason, that sith ye haue taken our myserable lande, that ye kepe vs in Justice. I haue meruaylle of you Romayns, to sende so simple persons to be our iuges. For I sweare to the goddis, they can not declare your lawes, nor vnderstande ours. I wote not whether ye sent them thither or no, but I shal shewe you, what they do there. They take openly what so euer is delyuered to them: and they doo their proufite with that they desyre in secrete. They chastise the poore persone greuously, and they forbear for money them that be riche: They consent to many wronges, to bringe them after to the lawes, without goodes it boteth not to demande Justice: and finally vnder colour that they be iuges vnder the senate of Rome, they say they may robbe all the londe. What is this ye Romayns: Shall your pride neuer haue an ende in commandyng, nor your couetise in robbynge: Saye what ye wyl. If ye do it for our chylzen, charge theym with irons, and make theym slaues: If ye do it for our goodes, go thither and take them: If our seruice doth not content you, stryke of our heedes. Why is not the knyfe so cruell in our throttes as your tyrannies is in your hartes: Doo ye knowe what ye haue done ye Romaynes: ye haue caused vs, to sweare
 neuer

neuer to retourne to our wyues : but to flee our chyldzen
 rather than to leaue them in the handes of so cruel tiran-
 tes. We had leauer suffre the bestly motions of the fleshe
 for. xx. or. xxx. yeres, than to dye without wounde leuyng
 our chylde sclaues, ye ought not to do thus ye Romains.
 A londe taken par force ought the better to be ruled, to the
 tent that the myserable captiues, seinge Justice duely mi-
 nistred to them, shuld therby forgette the tyranny passed,
 and to set their hartis to perpetuall seruitude. And sythe
 we are come to complayne of the grefes that your Cen-
 sures do vpon the fludde of Danubie, peraduenture you
 of the senate wyll here vs. Wote ye what ye doo ? Harke
 and I shal shewe you. If there come a righte pooze man
 to demande Justice, hauyng no money to gyue, nor wine
 to present, nor oyle to promyse, they fede hym with wordis
 sayinge howe he shal haue Justice : but they make hym
 to waste the lyttell that he hath, and gyue hym nothyng,
 though he demande moche. And so the myserable persone
 that came to complayn, retourneth complaynyng on you
 all, cursinge his cruell destenies, and maketh exclamatiō
 vppon the rightwise goddis. I lyue with acoznes in win-
 ter, and cut downe the grene cozne in sommer, and some-
 tyme I go a fyshyng for pastyme, so that the moste parte
 of my liuyng is fedynge in the feldes : and ye wote not
 why : here me, and I shal shewe you. I se suche tyrannies
 in your censures, and suche robberies amonge the pooze
 people, and I se suche warres in that realme, and hope of
 so small remedy in your senate, that I am determined las
 most vnhappy, to banishe my selfe out of myn own hous,
 and honest company, to thentent that my harte shuld not
 fele so great a hurt. It is a great peyne to suffre the ouer-
 throwe of fortune : but it is a greater yl, whan one feleth
 it and can not remedy it : and yet without comparison my
 P.ii, great=

greatest greife is, whan my losse may be remedied, and he that may wyl not, and he that wyl can not remedy it. O ye cruell Romayns: if the sorowes all onely shulde be reduced to memoirie that we suffre, my tonge shuld be wery, and all my membres faynte, and myn eyes shulde wepe bluddy teares and my fleshe consumed. This in my lode may be sene with eyes, herde with eares, and felte in propre persone. Certaynly my herte departeth, and my soule is troubled, & myn entayples breake. And I beleue yet the goddis wyl haue compassion. I wil desire you not to take my wordes for sclaundre. For ye Romayns, if ye be Romayns, ye shall well se, that the trouble that we haue, cometh by men, and among men, and with men, and by the handes of men. Than it is no meruayle though men fele it as men. One thinge comforteth me, and dyuers tymes amonge other that be yll fortunate, it cometh to such purpose, the whiche is: I thinke the goddis be so rightwise, that their fierce and cruel chastisementes come not but by our owne cruell shrewdnes: & our secrete sinnes awaketh vs so, that we haue open Iustice. But of one thing I am sore troubled, bicause the goddis can not be conteted. For a good persone for a lytell faut is greatly chastised, and he that is yll, for many fautes is not punished at al. So thus y goddis forbeareth some & some haue no mercy. Thus it semeth that the goddis wyl turment vs by the handes of suche men as greue vs extremely. So that if there were any iustice in the worlde, whan they chastise vs with their handes, we shulde not merite to haue our heedes on the shulders. Therfore I say to you, ye Romayns, and swere by the immortal goddis, that in .xv. days y I haue ben in Rome, I haue sene such dedes done in your senate, that if the lest dede of them had ben done at Danubie, the galowes & gibettes had ben hanged thicker of theues, than the

the vineyard with grapes and reisons. And sith y my desire hath sene that it despyeth, my harte is at reste: in spredyng abrode the popson that was in it. If my tonge hath offended you in any thinge, I am here redy to make recōpence with my throte. For in good sothe, I had rather to wyne honour, offerynge my selfe to the deathe, than ye shuld haue it in taking my lyfe fro me. Thus this vilain ended his purpose. Than the emperour sayd: How think ye my frendes, what kernel of a nut? what golde of filth? what grayne of strawe? what rose of thornes? What marrowe of bones dyd he vncouer? what reasons so hie? what wordis so wel sette, what trouth so true, and what malice opened he so? He discovered the duetie of a good manne. And I swere to you, as I may be deliuered from this euil feuer that I haue: that I saw this vilayn standing a hole houre on the erth boldly, & we holding downe our heedes abashed, & coude not answere him a word. The next day it was accorded in the senat, to send new iuges to Danubie. And we cōmanded the vilain, to deliuer vs in wryting, all that he had sayd, that it might be registred in the boke of good saymges of strangers. And the said vilayne for his wise wordes was made patricien, & so taried styl at Rome, and for euer was susteyned of the cōmon treasure.

Howe the emperour desired the welth of his people, and the people his welthe. Cap. xxxiij.



In the second yere that Mar. was chosen emperour, the .xlv. yere of his age, as he retourned fro the warres that he had in conquering the Germainys and the Aragonys, wherby he got gloze & riches for the Romaines empire, he lay at Salon to reste hym, and to appoynt his armie,
and

and to thentent that the Romaynes shulde apparelle his triumph in Rome right glorious and rychly: There was one thyng done, that was neuer sene befoze in Rome. For the day of his triumph by al the people and consent of the senate the pynce Comodus, sonne to Marc⁹ Au. was chosen after the dethe of his father to be emperour vniuersal of thempire. He was not chosen by the petition of his father, for he was agaynste it with all his power, sayinge, that the empire oughte not to be gyuen for the lawde of them that be deed, but he shoulde be chosen for his owne good werkes. Often tymes this emperour wolde saye: Rome shall be losse whan the election shall be taken froo the senate, and the Emperour to enheryte the empyre by Patrymonie.

Nowe to retourne where as we lefte. This emperour beinge at Salon studied soze to entre into Rome in good order, and Rome studied sooze howe to receyue hym as it appertayned triumphantly for such a warre. He was soze desyzed of thempire: and euer he imagined how to do pleasure to the people, and the people were redy to dye in his seruice. Dyuers tymes was moued a pleasant purpose in the senate, which of these thynges was moste to be loued: The emperour to loue the people of the empire, or the people of thempire the emperour. On a daye it was determyned to sette iuges in that case: There were chosen the ambassadours of the Parthes and Rhodes: and vppon that effecte they hadde wytyng. It was layde for the emperour, the good dedes that he had done in his absence, and the tokens of loue that they had alwayes shewed in his ptesence. And on an other day the emperour moued another question befoze the senate, sayeng that it was a gretter glozie to haue suche subiectes, than the glozie of the senate to haue suche an emperour. Than the senate sayde
 naye:

nay: Affirmyng þ it was a greater gloꝝy that they had of
 hym, than he coude haue of them. And in this maner the
 emperour gaue the gloꝝie to the people, and the people to
 the emperour. Thus in spoꝝte and play they toke iudges
 agayn. It was a merueylous thing to se the ioy that they
 all had to pꝛoue their intentes. And the good emperour
 foꝝ a memorie gaue the laude to the peple, bicause of their
 great obedience and seruice, and extreme loue that he had
 founde in them. And the happy people recoũted the great
 clemency & mercy that was in theemperour, and his vertue
 & worthines in gouerninge, his honestie of lyuyng, & his
 foꝝce and valyaũnes in conquering. It was a great thing
 to see the honour that the people gaue to the emperour, &
 the good renowme that the emperour gaue to the peoole.
 The wꝛytynges were gyuen to the strange ambassadours,
 to thentent that the people might lerne to obey their prin-
 cis: and pꝛincis to loue their people. To the ende that by
 suche examples (as it was reason) the good people shulde
 enfoꝝce them selfe, and the ill to withdꝛawe. Thus this
 emperour adꝛessed his entre with his capitaines & capti-
 ues. And Rome appareyled them with al their senatours
 and people to receyue hym. It was a huge thinge to see
 what people was at Rome to go foꝝthe to mete hym, and
 what people were with the emperour to entre. They that
 were at Salon had their eyes and also their hartes at
 Rome: and they that were at Rome had their hartes at
 Salon. In suche wyse that theyꝛ eies daseled with that
 they saue, and their hartis aked foꝝ that they hoped to se.
There is no greater peyn, than whan the harte is defer-
red fro that it longeth soꝝe to haue.

¶ Now theemperour gaue Lucylla his doughter ly-
 cence to spoꝝt her at his palays. Cap. xxxiii.

Q

It

Chapter 33 of the history of the emperor Aurelian
 how he gave licence to his daughter Lucilla
 to play at the ball with the senators and
 people of Rome.



It is to be knowen, that the Romaines had a custome, that in the moneth of Januier they shulde make triumphes to their emperours: and in the same selson that the triumphes were appareiled, Faustin the mperesse caused dyuers high persons to praye the emperour to gyue lycence to a doughter of his, to com from there as she was kept to the palays, and spozte her at the feastes. This mayden was named Lucie or Lucyll: She was hygher than the prince Commodus her brother: she was of a goodly gesture & well proportioned of her bodey, and well beloued of her mother. And she resembled her not all onely in her beautie, but also in her luyng. And though the request was pitefull, and they that made it familier, and he to whom it was made was the father, and the demaunder was the mother, and she for whom it was made, was the doughter: the emperour graunted it, but not without great displeasure. Neuertheles Faustine was full glad, and as sone as she had obtained lycence, she brought her doughter to the palais. And so whan the day of the great feast and triumph was comine, the damoyzell Lucylle beinge out of gouernance, and seinge her selfe at large, trusting than vppon her owne innocencye, toke no hede of any strange malyce, laughed with them that laughed, talked with them that talked, and behelde them that beheld her, & without care she thought that none thought ylle of her, bycause she thought yll of none: yet in those days a mayden to laugh amonge men was reputed as moch as a woman to haue done aduoutrie with the prestes of Grece: so great was the honestie of Romain women esteemed. And lightnes of maydens was a great infamie: for they were woꝝ punished for one open lightnes, than for two secrete fautes. Amonge all other seven thinges the women dyd obserue

obserue surely, that is to wite: not to speke moche at feastes, not to eate moche at bankettis, to drinke no wyne in their helthe, no: to speke alone with men, no: to lyfte vp their eies in the temples, no: to stande longe lokynge out at wyndowes, no: to go out of their houses without their hus bandes. The woman taken with any of these dishonest thinges, was always after reputed infamed. Many thynges were suffred in personnes of smalle reputation, that were not suffred in persons of honour. For the noble womē coude not cōserue the reputation of their estate, but by reson of keepynge their person in gret fere & good order. All thinges done vnkindly is syn, & may be amended: but the dishonest womā is alwaye shamed. The noble ladies, if they wyl be takē as ladies, whan they excede other in riches, the lesse licence ought they to haue to go wādȳng about. Certainly the plētie of goodes, & the libertie of persons, shuld not be a spur to pricke thē forward, but rather a byddell to kepe them in their closettes. And this is sayd, for bycause that durynge the sayd feastes, the damoyzell Lucille, as a yonge mayden, and Faustyne her louynge mother not beinge olde, sommetyme a foote, and sommetyme rydȳng on horsebacke, sometyne openly, and sometyne meruaylous secretely, sommetymes with company and sommetymes without company, sommetyme on the day, and nowe and than by nyghte, they wolde walke abroad in the stretes of Rome to se the felde of Vulcan, in gardeyns Saturnynes, and drinke at the conduites of Neros water, and sommetyme passe the tyme by the fayre ryuer of Thybre, and in all suche other pleasant sportes as appertayned to their age. And though the fore typed prymetyme prouoked them therto, yet the grauitie of suche ladyes shulde not haue suffred it. I wyl say one thing to thentent noble women shuld take aduertisemēt therby,

Quia,

and

and that is this: I knowe not whiche was the greattest dissolution, either the walkynge abrode of Faustine and Lucille through the stretes and other places, or elles the boldnes of yll speakers, speakynge ageinst their persons and good names. The withdrauinge and keepynge of women close is a bydell to the tongues of all men; and the woman that dothe otherwise, otherwise putteth her good name in daunger. Of trouth it were better for a woman neuer to be bozne, than to be defamed. Amonge the Romayns the lygnage of the Cornelies were had in great estimation. For of theym all neuer none was founde a coward, nor a woman defamed. The histories shewe, that ones a lady of that lygnage, beinge onely defamed, was hanged on the galowes by the handis of her owne kynsfolke. Surely it was well done of the Romaynes, to the entent that the wyckednes of one woman shuld not suffice yll fame to renne vpon the hole lygnage: where is there noblenes withoute shame? The thinges that touche honour, ought not to be hyd but amended by Justice, and to put them to deathe, that lose their good fame. It is not sufficient for a person to be good: but it is necessary that he put fro hym all occasions that are reputed to be yll. All the losses that a man may haue of any temporall goodes, can not countrepeyse the leste losse of good fame. A man that layeth his good name for a ferthing at a butte of this worlde, at a hundred shottes scantely shall he shote one aryght. And contrary wise the man that fereth not shame, nor wyll not haue his personne in reputation, there is no hope of goodnes in him. Than this emperour (as a shypmayster saylynge in mooste faire and calme wether, forecasteth, and is in greatte thought and feare of tempestes and stozmes to comine) in the feastes of his greate gloxie was in doubte of these two ladies, lest sodenly any mysfame

same shuld folowe. And certaynly he had great cause. For it is an infallible rule of enuious fortune, that this present felicitie is giuen with a pricke of a sodayne falle of myschaunce. In thinges naturall, we se somtyme the see caulme, and yet forthwith foloweth a peryllous storme, and consequently the great heate of the daye is signe of thonder at nyght. I say fortune compynge with some present delyte or pleasure, is a token that by flatterynge vs, she hath made redy her snares to catche vs. Whā the miller is sure, he dresseth his water gate, and the labourer whan it reyneth not, couereth his house, thinkinge that an other tyme the wethers or raynes wyll fall theron and trouble hym: In lykewyse a wyse and vertuous manne ought to thinke (as longe as he lyueth in this worlde) he holdeth his felicitie but at aduenture: and his aduersitie for his naturall patrimonie. Amonge all them that coude reioyce in prosperitie, and helpe theym selfe in aduersitie, this emperour Marcus Aurelius was one: whiche for any flatterynge that fortune coude shewe hym, he neuer trusted in them: nor for myshappe that he had in this life he neuer dispaired.

¶ What Marcus theemperour said to a Senatour as touchinge tryumphes. Cap. xxxv.

WHanne these feastes were passed, as Sertus Cheronense saith, a senatour named Aluinus sayd to theemperour, the same nyght that the triumph ceased: Syr reioyce you, sicke that this day ye haue gyuen so great ryches to the common treasure of Rome: and I haue sene your person in the triumph of glozie: and to the world to come of you and your howse you haue lefte perpetuall memorie. The

Q.iii, empe=

emperour heringe these wordes, sayd in this maner: I red
 it is good reson we beleue the huter knoweth the fierfnes
 of bestis, the phisition the propriete of herbes, y maryner
 the perils of rockes, the capitayns the chaunces of warre,
 and the emperour that triumpheth the ioy that he hath
 of triumphes. As god helpe me, and as euer I haue
 part with my predecessours, and as euer I haue good for-
 tune, the thoughtes that I haue had for these festes, haue
 ben farre greater than the feares that I haue had in all
 the iournays and battayles afore. And the reason therof
 is very euident, to them that haue clere vnderstandynge:
 For alwayes in cruel batayles I was euer in hope to haue
 gloze, & feared not the ouerthrow of fortune. What coude
 I lose in battayle? Nothynge but the lyfe, that is the leest
 thynge that men haue, and alwayes in these triumphes I
 feare to lose renoume, whiche is the greatestt gyfte that
 the goddis haue gyuen me. O howe happy is that man,
 that loseth his lyfe, and leueth behynde hym perpetuall
 memoze: Lette euery man vnderstande this that wyll,
 and saye what they lyst: that amonge noble and baly-
 aunt barons, he dyeth not, that leseth his lyfe, and lea-
 ueth good renoume after hym: and moche lesse tyme ly-
 ueth he that hath an yll name, though he lyued many ye-
 res. The auncient philosophers rekened not the lyfe of a
 man, though he lyued many yeres, but they rekened the
 good werkes that he hadde doone. The senate was im-
 portune vppon me, that I shulde take this triumph, as
 ye knowe well: and I can not tell whiche was greatestt,
 their desire, or my resistaunce. you knowe not the trouthe
 why I say thus. I dyd it not bycause of ambition and for
 couetousnes of gloze, but it was bicause I fere y humain
 malice. At the day of the triumph there was not so great
 ioy shewed by the simple persons, but the hyd enuye was
 greater

greater amonge the grettest persons. This glory passeth in one day, but enuy abydeth a hole yere. The plentyfulle realme of Egypt (so happy in the bloodshed of their enemies as in the waters of Nile) had a lawe immouable. They neuer denyed their mercy to the captiues ouercome: nor they gaue no triumph to their capitayns ouercomers.

The Caldees mocke at the Romayn triumphes, affirming how there is not giuen so great chastisement to the capitayne of Egypte ouercome: as the empire Romayne giue to the ouercomer whan triumphe is gyuen to hym. And surely the reason is good: for the thoughtful capytayne, whan he hath chased his ennemyes, that Rome hath in straunge landes, with his owne proper speare, in paymente for his trauayle they gyue hym ennemyes in his owne proper lande. I sweare to you, that all the Romaine capitaines haue not left so many ennemyes deed by swerde, as they haue recouered yll wyllars the daye of theyr triumphes. Let vs leaue the Caldees and speke we of oure auntyent Romaynes, which if they myghte retorne nowe agayne in to the worlde, they wolde rather be teyed faste to the chariottes as captiues, than to syt in them as byctours. And the cause is, theyr neighbours seinge them goinge as captiues, wolde moue theyr hertes to set them at libertie, so that the glorie of their triumphes is a meane to cause them to be persecuted and poursued. I haue red in writinge, and herd of my predecessours, and haue seen of my neighbours, that the haboundaunce of felicitie hath caused cruel enuie to be in many. O in what peril are they that with particular honoꝝ wold be exalted among other? In the mooste highest trees the force of wyndes is mooste aduanced. And in mooste sumtuous buildynges lighteninge and thonder dothe mooste hurte, and in greatte thicke and dyke buss hes the fyres kendle mooste easelye:
A

I say that in them that fortune hath reysed moſte highly, ageynſt them ſpzedeth the greateſt poyſon of enuye. All ſuch as be vertuous ſay: The moe ennemies they ſubdue to the common welthe: the moe enuious they recouer of their renoume. One ought to haue great compaſſion of a vertuous man: bycauſe where he trauayleth to be good, there abydeſh one thynge in hym, of the whiche all onely at the deth he ſeeth the ende. And that is, the moze a man recouereth here renoume amonge ſtrangers, the moze he is persecuted with enuy amonge his owne nations. Homer ſheweth in his Illiades, that Caluitio kynge of the Argiues was experte in clergie, valiant in armes, and indued with dyuers graces, beloued of his people, aboue all other he was a great louer of his goddis and worſhypper of them. This good kinge had a cuſtome, that in all thyngeſ that he had to do, he wolde fyrſte aſke counſell in the temples of the goddis: he wolde begyn no warre ageynſt other, noz ordeyne no newe lawe noz cuſtome in his realme: noz gyue aunſwere to thamballadours, noz put no treſpaſours to dethe: noz ſet no tribute on his people: but firſt he wolde go to the temple, and make diuers ſacrifices, to knowe the wyll of the goddis. And bycauſe he went ſo often to the ozacles, he was demaunded what anſwere the goddis made to him in ſecrete, ſeing he was ſo importunate. Than he anſwered and ſayd: I demand of the goddis that they ſhulde not giue me ſo lyttell, that euery man myght abate and ouercome me: Noz alſo that they ſhulde gyue me ſo moche, that euery manne ſhoulde hate me: but my deſire is to haue a meane eſtate, wherewith euery manne myght loue me. For I hadde leauer be felawe with many in loue, than to be kynge of all with hatred and enuy.

Of the greate reproche that theemperour gaue to his wyfe Faustine and her doughter. Cap. xxxvi.



After the feastes of the tryumphe afoze sayde, this good emperour wyllynge to satysfye his hart, and to aduertise Faustine his wyfe, and to teche his innocente doughter, withoute knowledge of any other, he sente for theym and sayde: I am not contente Faustine with that youre doughter dooth, and yet lesse with that you doo, whiche ar her mother. These maydens for to be good maydens ought well to knowe, howe to obey theyr mothers: And the mothers to be good mothers, oughte to knowe howe to brynge vppe theyr chyldren. The father is excused in gyuyng counsaile, if the mother be vertuous, and the doughter shamefaste. It is a greate shame to the father being a noble man, that his wyfe beyng a woman shuld chastyse his sonne: And a great inconuenience of the mother, beyng a mother that her doughter shulde be chastised by the handes of her father. There was a lawe ordey=ned by the Rodyens, that the father with the daughter, if she had a mother, nor the mother with the sonne, if he were a man, shulde not entermedle eche with other, but alonely men with men, and women with women oughte to be brought vp. And the extremyte of the law was suche, that amonge theym that dwelled in one house semed the fathers hadde no daughters, nor the mother no sonnes. **O** Rome, I wepe not to se thy stretes vnpaued, nor that there is so many gutters in thy houses, nor that the batilmentes fall downe, nor thy tymber hewed downe, nor for the mynysynge of thin habitantes, for all this the time bringethe, and the time bereth away: but I wepe for the and wepe for the agayne, to se the vnpeopled of good fathers

thers, and bnprouided in the nourishing of their sonnes. Our countreye began to faile vtterly; whan the doctrine of sonnes and doughters was enlarged, and their bydell lette go at libertie. For there is nowe such boldnesse in me childzen, and so lyttell shamefastnes in women childzen, with the dishonestie of the mothers, that where as one father suffised for. xx. sonnes, & one mother for. xxx. doughters, nowe. xx. fathers scantly dare vndertake to bringe vp well one sonne, and. xxx. mothers one doughter. I say to you thus Faustine, you remembze not how you are a mother, you gyue moze libertie to your doughter than ought to be suffred. And you Lucille remembze not, how you are a daughter. For you shewe to haue moze lybertie than requireth for a yonge mayden. The greattest gyfte that the goddis haue gyuen to the matrons of Rome is, bycause they are women, they kepe them self close and secrete: and bycause they be Romayns, they are shamefaste. The day whan the women want the feare of the goddis secretely, and shame of menne openly, beleue me, eyther they shall faile the worlde, or the worlde them. The common welth requireth so greatte necessitie, that the women that dwel therein shuld be as honest, as the capitayns to be valiant. For the capitaynes going to warre defende them, and the women that abyde at home conserue them. As a. iiii. yere passed ye sawe the great pestilence, and I demanded then to haue accompt of the people, and I founde that of a. C. xl. M. women well lyuyng. lxxx. M. dyed: And of. x. M. ylle women in maner they scaped all. I can not telle for whiche I shulde wepe, eyther for the lacke that we haue of the good and vertuous women in our common welth, or elles for the greuous hurte and damage that these ylle and wicked women do to the youthe of Rome. The fyre that brenneth in mounte Ethna dothe not so greatte damage

mage to them that dwelle in Syccille, as one ylle woman
 doth in the circuit of Rome. A fierse beast and a peryllous
 ennemie to the cōmon welth is an yl woman: for she is of
 power to do moche harme, and is not apte to folowe any
 goodnesse. ¶ How many realmes and kynges rede we of,
 to be losse by the yll gouernance of women, and to resiste
 agaynste them hath ben nede of wysedom, peryls, money,
 force, and worthines of many men. The vices in a womā
 is as a grene rede, that boweth euery way: but the liber-
 tie and dishonestie is as a drie kir that breaketh: in such
 wise that the moze yll they vtter the moze vnlykely is the
 redzesse therof agein. Behold Faustin there is no creature
 that moze desireth honour, and woꝛs kepeth it than a wo-
 man. And that this is true, se by Iustice, by ozations, by
 wrytynge, and other trauayles manne getteth renowme:
 but (without it be by flatterynge and fayze speakynge) vn-
 to this houre, by antike wryting we can rede of fewe wo-
 men oz none, that eyther by wrytinge, redynge, woꝛkinge
 with nedell, spynnynge, oz by weuyng hath gotten them
 any great renowme. But as I say of one, I say of an o-
 ther. Certaynly of dyuers we rede, by keepynge them close
 in their houses, well occupied in their besynesses, tempe-
 rate in their woꝛdes, saythful to their hus bandes, wel or-
 dered in their persones, peasible with their neyghbours,
 and finally beinge honeste amonge their owne famylpe,
 and shamefaste amonge straungers, suche haue attayned
 great renowme in their lyfe, and lefte eternal memoꝛie of
 them after their deth. I woll tel you an antike histoꝛie as
 profitable to restreyne our vices, as it did than augment
 vertues, and it is this: The realme of Lacedemoniens (as
 Plato sheweth) was at a season moze dissolute by the vn-
 thriftines of women than infamed by the crueltie of men:
 so that of al maner nations they were called Barbariens.

R.ii.

What

What tyme Grece as a mother called philosophie of philo-
 sophers, Lygurge a wise philosopher in knowlege, and
 a right iuste kyng to gouerne, partely with his doctryne
 righte profitable, and partly with his pure lyfe made la-
 wes in the sayd realme, wherby he extirped all vices, and
 planted all vertues. I can not telle whiche of these two
 were moste happy, The kyng haupnge so obedient peo-
 ple, or els the realme to haue so rightfull a kyng. Amōge
 all other lawes for women he made one greatly to be com-
 mended: He commanded, that the father that dyed, shuld
 gyue nothing to his doughter. And an other, that neyther
 lyvinge nor dienge he shuld gyue any money to mary her
 with: to the entent that none shulde marpe her for her ry-
 ches, but al onely for her goodnes: and not for her beau-
 tie, but for her vertues. And where as now some be vn-
 married bycause they are pooze, so then they abode vnma-
 ried bycause they were shamefull and vicious. O tyme,
 worthy to be desired, whan maydens hoped nothyng to
 be married with their fathers goodes, but by the vertuons
 werkes of their owne persons. This was the tyme callid
 the golden worlde: whan neyther the doughter feared to
 be disherited by the father in his lyfe, nor the father to die
 sorpe for leaupnge her without remedy at his deathe. O
 Rome cursed be he that firste brought gold into thy hous:
 and cursed be he that firste beganne to hurde by treasure.
 Who hath made Rome to be so ryche of treasure, and so
 poze of vertues: who hath made menne wedde vilaynes
 doughters, and leaue the doughters of senatours vnma-
 ried: what hath made that the ryche mans doughter is
 demanded vnwyllyng, & the doughter of a poze mā none
 wylle desire: what hath caused that one maryeth a foole
 with fyue. C. marke, rather than a wyse woman with. x.
 M. vertues: Than I saye that in this poynte the fleshe
 ban-

banquyſheth the fleſhe, and er euer the banytie of the malice therof is banquyſhed. How cometh it þ a couetous perſone wyll ſooner nowe adays haue a wyfe that is ryche & foule, than one that is poore and fayre? O unhappy women that bypunge for the chyldren, and more unhappy the doughters that are bozne, which to haue them married no ſtoze is ſet by the bloode of their predecessours, nor the fauour of their frendes, nor the value of their warkes, nor the beautie of their perſons, nor the cleannes of their life. O curſed worlde, where the doughter of a good mā without money ſhall haue no mariage. But it was not wonte to be ſo. For in the aunciente tyme, whan they treated of maryages, fyrſte they ſpake of the perſones, and after of the goodes: not as they do at this houre, in this unhappy tyme: for nowe they ſpeke firſte of goodes, and laſte of all of the perſone. In the ſayd golden worlde fyrſte they ſpeake of the vertues of the perſon was endowed with, & whan they were maryed, in ſporynge they wolde ſpeake of the goodes. Whan Camilla triumphed vpon the Gaulles or frenchemen, he had then but one ſonne, and he was ſuche one, that his perſon merited great lawdes. And for the renome of his father, dyuers kynges deſyred to haue him to their ſonne: and dyuers ſenatours deſyred to haue hym to their ſonne in lawe. This yonge manne beinge of the age of. xxx. yeres, and the father at. lx. he was importunately ſtyred by his naturalle frendes, and deſyred of ſtrange kynges for to mary hym: but alway the olde Camyll repugned the counſel of his frendes, & the importunitie of the ſtrangers. Than it was demaunded, why he determyned not vpon ſome mariage for his ſonne, ſythe therby ſhulde folowe the reſtefull lyfe of the yonge man, and the quietnes of hym ſelfe in his age. He answered: I wyll not mary my ſonne, bycauſe ſomme offer me ryche

R.iii. dough-

3
 daughters, some noble of lygnage, some yonge, and some
 fayre: but there is none hath sayde to me, I gyue you my
 vertuous daughter. Certaynly Camylle merited to haue
 triumph for that he dyd. And he deserued eterrall memo-
 rie for that he sayd. I say to you Faustine al these wordis,
 bycause I se you lede your daughter to the Theatres and
 playes, and do bringe her in to the Capitoll. you put her
 to the keepinge of the swerde players: you suffre her to se
 the tounblers, and yet you do not remembre, that she is
 yonge, and you not aged: ye go into the stretes withoute
 lycence, and play by the ryuers. I fynde no vilany therein
 nor thynke that your daughter is yl: but I say it bycause
 you gyue occasion, that she shulde not be good. Beleue it
 Faustine: neuer trust in the case of the fleshe of yong peo-
 ple. Nor haue no confidence in olde folkes. For there is
 no better way than to flee the occasion of all thinges. For
 this entent the virgins bestales are closed by betwene the
 walles, to eschewe the occasions of open places, not to be
 more lyght and foolyshe, but to be more sadde and vertu-
 ous, fleing occasions. The yong shal not say: I am yonge
 and vertuous, nor the olde shal not say, I am olde & bro-
 ken. For of necessitie the drie flaxe will brenne in the fire:
 and the grene flagge smoke in the flamme. I saye that a
 man beinge a diamonde enchaced amonge men, yet of ne-
 cessitie he ought to be quicke and merke amonge women.
 And as waxe melteth in the heate, we can not denye, that
 though the wodde be taken fro the fyre, and the ymbres
 quenched, yet neuer the les the stones oftentime remayne
 hote and brennyng. In lyke wise the fleshe though it be
 chastised with hote & drie maladies, or consumed by many
 peres with trauayle, yet concupiscence abideth styl in the
 bones. What nede is it to blasen the vertues, & deny our
 naturalities? Certainly there is not so croked a hors, but
 yf he

if he se a mare he wyl bray ones oꝛ twise. There is no mā
so yonge noꝛ old, but let him se yong damoyseles, eyther he
wyl giue a sigh oꝛ a wishe. In al voluntary thinges I de-
nie not, but that one may be vertuous: but in natural thin
ges I confesse euery man to be weake. Whan ye take the
wood fro the fire, it leueth brennyng: whā somer cometh
the colde wynter cesseth: whan the see is cauline the wa-
ues leaue their behemente mouynge: whan the sonne is
sette, it beshyneth not the worlde. I wyl say that than, and
not befoze the fleshe wyl cease to peyn vs, whan it is laide
in the graue. Of the fleshe we are boꝛne, and in the fleshe
we lyue, and in the fleshe we shall dye. And therby it folo-
weth, that our good lyfe shall sooner ende than our fleshe.
Oftentymes some holosome fleshe foꝛ meate coꝛrupteth in
an vnholosome potte: and good wyne somtyme sauoureth
of the foiste. I say though that the werkes of our lyfe be
vertuous: yet shal we fele the stench of the weake fleshe.
I say this Faustine sith age can not resiste the hote enter-
prise, howe can the tender membzes of youth resist it: you
being the moder, without you go the right way, she being
your doughter can not go the same way. The Romaine
matrons, if they wyl nourishe their doughters wel, ought
to kepe these rules. Whan they see, that they wolde goo a-
brode, than breke their legges, and if they wold be gasing,
than put out their eies, and if they wyl harken, stop their
eares, if they wyl giue oꝛ take, cut of their handes: if they
dare speke, solwe bp their mouthes: and if they wyl entēd
any lyghtnes, bury them quicke. Foꝛ deth ought to be gi-
uen to an yll doughter: and in stede of presentes and gif-
tis at her wedding, gyue her woꝛmes: and foꝛ her hous a
graue. Take hede Faustine if you wyl haue great ioye of
your doughter, take fro her the occasiōs, wherby she shall
be ylle. To vndersette a hous behoueth dyuers pꝛoppes:
And

And yf the pꝛincipalles be take awaye, hit wylle falle
downe. I telle you, wommenne are so fraylle, that with
kepers with great peyne they can kepe them selfe: and foꝛ
a small occasion they will lose all to gyther. O howe ma-
ny yll hath there ben, not bycause they wolde be so, but by
cause they folowed such occasions, the whiche they ought
to haue eschewed: It is foꝛ me to entre into this battayle,
but yet it is not in me to attayne the byctorie. It is foꝛ me
to entre into the see, yet it lyeth not in my handis to escape
the perylle. It is in the handes of a woman to entre into
the occasion, and after that she is therin, hit is not in her
handes to delyuer her from faute.

Howe the mperour couſayled Faustine to eschue
yll occasions fro her doughter. Cap. xxxvii.



Araduenture Faustyne ye wylly say to me,
that none may speke to your doughter Lu-
cille, but yf you here it: noꝛ se her but in
your syghte, noꝛ hide her, but you knowe
where: noꝛ make none appoyntment with
out your knowlege. And atte this howre
you knowe not, that they that do hate her, & wolde her yl,
what dis honour theyꝝ tongues doo speake of her. Newe
loue in yonge bloudde in the springinge tyme and flouri-
shyng in youth, is a poyson that foꝛ the with spredeth into
euery bayne: It is an herbe that by and by entreth the en-
trayles: a swownyng that incontinently mortifieth al the
membres: a pestilence that sleeth the hartes: and synally
it maketh an ende of all vertues. I wote not what I say
yet, al though I knowe what I wylly say: foꝛ I wold ne-
uer blasen loue with my tonge, without I were soꝛe hurte
in myn vnderstondyng. Duyde sayth in his boke of the
arte

arte of loue: Loue is I wotte not what: that cometh I wote not whens, who sent it I wote not: it engendzeth I wote not how: it is contented I wote not wherwith: it is felte I wote not howe ofte, no? I wote not wherfore. And fynally loue taketh rote without breakynge of the fleshe outwarde, or percinge the entrayles inwarde. I wote not what Duide meaneth hereby: but I trowe whan he sayd these wordes, he was as farre banysched from hym selfe, as I am at this tyme from my selfe. O Faustin they that loue together, shewe the signes of their hartis by dyuers ways, and in slepyng they reason and speke: and by signes they vnderstande eche other. The greatte voyce outwarde is sygne of lyttell loue inwarde: and the great inwarde loue kepeth silence outwarde. The entrayles within embraced in loue, cause the tonge outward to be muet. He that passeth his lyfe in loue, ought to haue his mouth close. And to the entente that ye shall nat thynke that I speake fables, I wyll proue this by ancient histories.

¶ We fynde aunciently, that in the yere .ii. C. and .lx. after the foundation of Rome, Estrasco a yonge Romayn, that was dombe, and Ueronne a fayre lady of the Latins that was dombe also, These two sawe eche other on the mount Celyoit at a feast, and there fel in loue eche with other. And their hertes were as soore fixed in loue as their toges were tied fro wordes: It was a meruaylous thing to se them, and feareful to note here. The yonge lady cam fro Salon to Rome: and he went fro Rome to Salon, by the space of .xxx. yeres together, without the witing of any person, no? they two spake not. Than at the last died the hus bande of the lady Uerone, and the wyfe of Estrasco, and than they discouered their loue, and treted a mariage betwene them, of whom descended the noble lygnage of our Scipions: whiche were moze lyberalle in the feates

S

of ar-

of armes, than their father and mother were in their tongues. Then Faustyne marke this thyng: Lpttell aduantage it had ben to haue cut out the tongues of the two dōbe folkes, to haue remedied their loue, and not to haue cut out their hartis.

Also I shall tell you of Masinissa a worthy knyght of Numedie, and Sopharise a famous lady of Carthage, all only by one sight, as they sawe eche other on a ladder, he declared his desire vnto her: and she knowing his lust breakynge the ooze of feare, and lifyng by the ankers of shame, incontinent raysed the sayles of their hartes, & with the shippes of their psons they ioynd eche to other. Here may we gather howe the first sight of their eies, and knowlege of their persons, and the leage of their hartis, and the mariage of their bodies, & the pardicion of their estates, and the infamie of their name, in one dape, in one houre, in one moment, and in one steppe of a ladder were agreed. What wyll ye that I say moze to this pourpose? Do ye not know, that Helayne the Greke, and Parys the Troyan, of two strange nations, and of ferre countreis, with one onely sight in a temple, their wylles were so knit to gyther, that he toke her as his captyue, and she abode his prisoner. In Paris appered but smal force, and in her but lptell resistance. So that in maner these two yong per-
sones, the one procuring to vanquishe, and the other sufferinge to be vanquished, Paris was cause of his fathers death: and Helayne of the infamie of her husbnde, and they bothe of their owne deathes, losse to their realmes, and sclaundre to all the worlde. All this loue caused, one onely syght.

Whan great kyng Alexander wold haue giue battayle to the Amazons, the quene capitayn of them, no lesse faire than stronge and vertuouse, came to a riuer side, and the
space

space of an houre eche of them behelde other with theyr eyes, without speakinge of any word : and whan they returned to their tentes, the fierynes was turned into swete wanton amorous wordes.

Whan Pyrrhe the faithfull defender of the Tarentynes, and renowned kynge of Epirotes was in Italye, he camme to Naples, and he had not bene there but one day, the same season there was a lady in the same citie named Gamalycice, of a high lygnage, and greatly esteemed in beautie: The very same day she was gotten with childe and shamed thzough out all Italy, and was thurst out of the citie. And after she was delyuered of chylde, she was slayne by one of her owne byetherne.

Also Cleopatra in the prouynce of Bythynye, in the wode of Sebyn, made a goodly banket or solempne feast to Marcus Anthoni her louer. And though she was not very honest, yet had she with her ryght chaste women: and thus the banket enduringe a great part of the nyght, and the wode beyng thicke, the yong damselfs were not so wilf to hyde them, but the yonge men Romayns found them: so that of .lx. daughters of senatours .lv. were gotten with chylde among the thicke bushes: which thyng made a gret scandalze in the people, and augmentyd the infamy of Cleopatre, and minished the honestie of Marc Anthoni.

Thus as I haue shewed of a smalle nombze, I coude say of many other. All men are not men, nor all women be not women. I say it bicause I wolde it shulde be said: lette it touche them that it towche, and lette theym that can, vnderstand me. There be some shypys, y are so lyght, that they will saylle with a lyttell winde: & there be some mylles y wyl grinde with a lytel water. I say there be some women so byttell, that as a glasse, with a fylloppe wyl breke, and wyl flyp with a lytel myze. Shew me Faustine,

S.ii.

haue

haue you suffred your doughter to speke but with her vn-
 cles, and kept company but with her colins: I say in this
 case, as moche wilenesse hath the mother as the doughter
 to renne in peryll. Do you not knowe, that the quicke fire
 doth not forbere the wod be it wete or dry, but in likewyse
 it consumeth the harde stones: Do you not knowe, that
 the hongre excessiue causeth beastes to deuour with their
 tethe the thyng that was bredde in their entraples: Do
 you not knowe that the goddis made a lawe ouer al thin-
 gis except on louers, bycause they may not abyde it: And
 doubtlesse it is rightwisely done, that Rome condemneth
 not these folythe innocentes, bycause they haue none vn-
 derstandyng. The goddis giue no peyn to amorous peo-
 ple, bycause they are depriued fro reason. Ye knowe whan
 I was censure there was a yong woman that had a child
 by her owne father: and an other that had a chylde by her
 sonne, and a niece by her propre vncl, and there was sen-
 tence gyuen on them, that the fathers shulde be cast to the
 lyons, and the chyliden buried quicke, and the mothers
 were bzente in the campe of Mars. The mattier was so
 horrible to here, that I myght not endure to se the cursed
 men. And I commanded by my decrees, that none shulde
 be so bolde to speake in suche a case any moze. And if this
 case were fearefull to men, than certaynly the Romaine
 matrones ought to lyue chastely. Than if the fire of the
 father doo chaufe the doughter, enflame the kynsfolke,
 and burne them selfe: Then take hede, if he fynde after,
 eyther cousyn or faire sister, the flames of his concupiscence
 wyll not leaue to take holde on her for any parentage. If
 this riotous fleshe wyll obey reason, than it may be, that
 your doughter may speake liberally with her cousins: but
 sith that passion repugneth so moche at reason, I counsel
 you, trust not to moche in her bzetherne. you se by experi-
 ence,

ence, that the worme that is bredde in the tymbre, eateth the same tymbre: and the moother that are bredde in the clothe, eateth the same clothe. I say that sommetyme a man bringeth vp in his howse some persone, that after taketh his lyfe fro hym. I austyne take this that I haue sayd for a warnyng, and these last wordis I gyue you for counsel. If you wil kepe your selfe fro thought, and your doughter fro peryll, alway let your doughter be occupied with some good werkes. Whan the handes are occupied with any good exercise, than the harte is boyde fro many ydel and bayn thoughtes. Every lightnes done in youth breaketh downe a loope of the defence of our lyfe: but ydelnesse, wherby our enuye entreth, is it, whiche openeth the gate to all vyces. I austine wyll you wite: I se dayly the pardition of the yonge Romayne doughters: for as soone as they be bozne, they presume to be amorous: they as vnthoughtfull, with the rechelesnes of the father, and wantonnes of the mother, leue the iust trauayle, and take vniust idelnes. Of ydel motions & outragious thoughtis the eies take lycēce without leaue, the mynd altereth, and the will is hurte: and finally thinkyng to be the whyte, that amorous men shote at, they remayne as a butte fulle of all vyces. And in conclusion there is nothyng that reacheth the balle of the thought (in this play) than is the hande set a worke therwith.

What thought Marcus the emperour toke for the mariage of his doughters. Cap. xxxviii.

Ihan the good emperour Marc haupnge a clere vnderstandynge and a quiete wytt, toke right great hede of thinges that were paste, prudently waying thinges present, & thynges to come.

S.iii.

Seinge

inge that the pardiction of princis, lay all in wyll, totally giuinge them selfe eyther to strange thinges, forgettinge their owne, or els to entende to their owne, nothing regar ding strange thinges. His hert was so agreable to him, that neyther the high busynesses of them: nor for all the affaires of his house, he wolde not leaue one of thempire vnsped. I say this, bycause this emperour Marcus had foure doughters, whose names were Lucille, Porcena, Matrina, and Domitia. All resembled their mother in excellent beautie, but they resembled not their father in honestie and vertuousnes. And though they were in gouernance vnder their maystresses out of his ptesence, yet he had them always in memorie: and the elder they were, the more study and thought he toke for them: and whan they cam to cōplete age, he studied to finde prouision for them. It was a laudable custome, that the doughters of the officers of the Senate, shulde not marie without lycence, nor the emperours doughters without the aduysement of the senate. Than it was so, that one of the said princesses his doughters beinge of age, and of wyll to be married, her father seinge her importunitie, to accomplyshe her desire, bycause he was sycke, he sente for Faustyne, that she shulde goo and commune in the senate. The whiche with all her power she withstode, bycause that secretely she had treated for an other mariage for her doughter. And openly she excused her selfe sayinge that her doughter was to yonge and tender of aege: and as the goddis had gyuen age sufficient to the father, so had the doughter of peres. Whan the emperour vnderstode this, he called Faustyne to his bedde side, where as he lay and said: Diuers thinges are dissimuled in particular persons, the leste of them is not to be suffred in the that shuld ensigne al other. The prince is neuer well obeyed but if he haue good credence amonge

among his people. I say this Iustin, bicause you do one thinge in secrete, and say an other openly. Herin sayleth the credence of so high a lady, and putteth inconuenience in the auctoritie of so great an empire. If ye suppose my good desires be sinister in your hert for the welth of your owne chylzen: howe shuld we hope than in any of your good woꝝkes for the childe of strangers? It semeth to you better to giue your daughter to them that demande her of the mother, and to refuse them that the father doth chuse. Certainly bicause ye be a womā, you deserue pardon: but in that you are a mother, you augment your fault. Do you not know that maryages are guided, sommetyme by fortune, and some by vertues and wisdomē. Suche as demande the daughters of the fathers, beleue me, their eies ben moze vpon their owne pꝛopꝛe vtilitie, than vpon the welth of an other. I knowe well, you bypꝛnge foꝝthe the chylzen, but the goddis will marie them, sith they haue endewed them with so meruaylous beautie. Do you not knowe, that the beautie of women setteth straungers on desire, and putteth neyghbours in suspicion, to gret mē it gꝛueth foꝛce, to meane men enuie, to the parentis infamie, and peryll to the person selfe: with great peyne it is kepte that is desired of many. Of trouth I say the beautie of women is nothꝛuge but a signe for ydell folke: and an erly wakꝛnge for them that be lyght: where as of the strange desires lyeth the renome of them self. And I deny not, but that a light person sercheth soner a woman with a faire face, thā one of honest lꝛuing. But I say, that a woman, that is married only for her beaute, maye hope in her aege to haue a soꝛie lꝛfe. It is an infallible reule, that she that was married for her fairenesse, is hated for her fowlenes. What trauaile he offreth him selfe vnto, that marryeth a faire woman: It behoueth hym to suffre her pꝛyde, for

for beautie and folý alway gothe to gyther: also he muste
 suffre her expéces. For folý in the heed, and beautie in the
 face bene two woymes that frete the lyfe and wasteth the
 goodes; also he must suffre her riottes. For a faire womā
 wyl that none but she haue her commandementes in the
 house: also he must suffre her nice mynionnesse: for euery
 faire woman wyl passe her lyfe in pleasure: also he muste
 suffre her presumption: For euery fayre woman wyl haue
 preeminence befoze all other. fynallye he that maryeth
 with a faire woman, appareyleth hym to a right great ad-
 uenture: & I shall telle you wherfoze. Surely Carthage
 was neuer so enuironed with Scipiōs, as the house of a
 fayre woman is with lyghte persons. Onhappy husbād
 whan his spirit is at rest, and the body sleping, than these
 lyght persons wyl come about his house, dyeng his body
 with ielously, castyng their eies to the wyndowes, scaling
 the walles with ladders or climmyng ouer, synging swete
 songes, playeng on dyuers instrumētes, watchyng at the
 gatis, treating with baudes, vncoueryng þ house, & wai-
 tinge at euery corner therof. All these thinges, in case they
 shote at the prycke of the womans beautie, they leue not to
 shote at the butte of the sorowfull husbandes good name.
 And whether this be true or not, report me to my self, that
 married me with your beautie: and let them wyte of my re-
 noume that go so about the citie. I say moche, but truely
 I fele more. No man complayneth of the goddes for gy-
 uynge hym a foule wyfe, amonge his destenyes. Whyte
 syluer is not broughte but in blacke pytche: and the ten-
 der tre is not conuerted but by the harde rynde. I say the
 man that marieth a foule wyfe, leadeth a sure lyfe: let eue-
 ry man chuse as he lysteth: and I say a man that marieth
 a faire wife, casteth his good fame at hasard, and putteth
 his lyfe in peril. Al the infamie of our predecessours stode
 in

In none exercisinge of dedes of armes : and nowe all the pastime of the Romayne youth is to serue ladies. Whan a woman is famed to be fayre, than euery man goth thither, and taketh great peyne to serue her, and the women woll be sene. I say Faustine you neuer sawe a yonge damoysele Romayne, greatly renoumed in beautie, but either in dede or in suspicion there folowed som yl name of her. In that lyttell that I haue redde I haue herde of dyuers fayre women, bothe of Grece, Italy, Parthe, and Rome: and they be not put in remembraunce, bycause they were faire, but for the great perylles and heuy chaunces that by theyr beautyes felle in the worlde. For in maner by reason of their excellentie beauties they were visyted in their owne landes : and by their infamie shamed thzough all the worlde.

Whan the realme of Carthage was flourishyng in ryches and happy in armes, they ruled the common welth by wise philosophers, and susteyned it by discrete armies on the see, Arminius the philosopher was as greatly esteemed amonge them, as Homer amonge the Grekes, or Cicero amonge the Romayns : he lyued in this worlde syre scoze yeres and .ii. Of the which happy age. lxxx. yeres he ruled quietly as a baron most peasible of mynd : and was as strange to women as familiar with his bokes. Than the senate seing he was so brokē with the common welth, and withdrawen from all naturall recreations, they desired hym with great instaunce to be married, bycause that memorie myghte be had of so perfite a wyse man in tyme to come : and the moze importunate they were in, the moze he resisted & sayd, I wyl not be married : for if she be foule, I shall abhorre her : if she be ryche I muste suffre her : if she be poore, I must mayntein her : if she be faire, I must take hede to her : if she be a syzewe, I can not suffre her :

nota.

C and

and the leest pestilence of all these is sufficiente to flee a
 M. men. With suche wordes this wise man excused him
 selfe: and he in his aeye, by reason of his greatte studie,
 losse his sighte. And the solytarines of his swete liberties
 constrained him to take company of a womā, and she had
 by him a doughter, of whom descended the noble Amyl-
 cares of Carthage cōpetitours of the Scipiōs of Rome,
 the whiche shewed no lesse worthinesse in defence of Car-
 thage, than ours were fortune to augment Rome.

Tell me Faustine, may not suche suspicion fall vpon
 your doughters, though their vertu succour in the perill,
 and their honestie assure their persons? I wyll discover a
 secreete thynge to you. There is nothynge that can be so
 quickly cōmytted, as a woman that is enuyronned with
 chaste keepers and feminine shamesfastnes. Stedfastly they
 desire, and with great leysure they procure these thinges,
 that lyghtly may be atteyned. There is nothinge so cer-
 tayne, but that the welth of an other is matter for the owne
 euill. And Faustine ye knowe that the mooste honest wo-
 menne by our malyce are mooste desired. Certainly their
 shamesfastnes and keepinge close, ben arowes in defence of
 our honestie. We rede not that bludde, riches, nor beautie
 of the vnhappy matrone Lucrece was the cause that she
 was desired. But the clerenes of bylage, the grauitie of
 her persone, the purenes of her lyfe, the keepynge of hyr
 close in her howse, the exercitie of her tyme, the credence
 amonge her neyghbours, and the great renoume that she
 had amonge straungers, waked the foolyshe Tarquyne
 to comynytte with her aduoutrie by force. What thynke
 you? wherof came this? I shall shewe you. We that be
 yll, are so yll, that as yll we vse the goodnes of them that
 be good. This is no faute to the ladies of Rome, but ra-
 ther in the immortall goddis. Their clene honestie accu-
 seth

keth our cruel malyce. Faustin, you say your daughter is
 to yonge to be married: Do you not knowe, that the good
 father ought to endoctrine his sonnes fro their yong age
 and to prouide for his daughters whiles they be yonge.
 Of a trouthe if the fathers be fathers, and the mothers
 moders, as soone as goddis haue gyuen them a dought-
 ter, forthwith they oughte to fyre in their hartis a newe
 remembrance: and not forget it, tyll they haue prouyded
 their doughter an husbād. The fathers ought not to tary
 for ryches, nor the mothers for high lygnage the better to
 marie them: So what with the one & the other, the tyme
 passeth, and the daughters waxe aeged: and than after
 this maner they be to olde to be married: and to abyde a-
 lone, they be maydens: and to serue they be women, they
 lyue in peyne, the fathers in thought, the parentes in su-
 spection, that they shuld be lost. ¶ What gret ladies haue
 I knowen daughters of gret senatours, and not for faut
 of ryches, nor of vertues in their persons, but all only for
 slacke of tyme, and duryng of one houre to an other, so
 that at laste sodeyn dethe came to the fathers, and no pro-
 uidence made for the daughters: So that in maner some
 were couered vnder the erthe after their deathe, and some
 buried with forgetfulnes. Epyther I lye, or I haue redde
 in the lawe of the Rodiens, where as it is wrytten: we cō-
 mande the father in marienge. x. sonnes to trauaylle but
 one day: but to marie one vertuous doughter lette hym
 trauayle. x. yeres, ye & suffre the water come to the mouth,
 sweate dropes of blood, trauayle the stomake, disherite
 all his sonnes, lose his goodes, and aduenture his person.
 These wordis in this law were pitiful for the daughters,
 & not lesse greuous to the sonnes. For x. sonnes by þ lawe
 of men ar bound to discouer, & to go ouer al the world: but
 þ doughter, by þ good law ought not to go out of þ hous.

C.ii.

I say

I say moze ouer, that as thinges vnstable thzete fallng, so lyke wise it chaunceth to yonge damselles, whiche thinke all their time lost and superfluous vnto the daye of their mariage. Homere saith, it was the custome of ladies of Grece to count the yeres of their lyfe, not fro the tyme of their byrthe, but fro the tyme of their mariage. As if one demaunded of a Grecian her age, she wolde answere xx. yeres, if it were. xx. yere sith she was married: though it were. xl. yeres sith she was bozne: Affirming after they had a house to gouerne and to commaunde, that daye she begynneth to lyue. The Melon after it is ripe, and abyedeth styll in the gardeyn, can not scape, but eyther rotteth, or elles must be gathered. I saye the mayden that tarieth longe, tyll she be married, can not escape, eyther to be take or unfamed. I will saye no moze. As soone as the grapes be ripe, it behoueth that they be gathered: so it is necessarie, that the woman that is come to perfite age be married and kepte. And the father, that dothe this, casteth peryll out of his house, and bringeth him selfe out of thoughte, and contenteth well his doughter.

Of a syckenes, wherof theemperour died, of his age, and where he died. Cap. xxxix.



Marcus the Emperour beinge olde, not onely by age, but by trauaile and great peines that he had taken and suffred in warres: In the xviij. yere of his empire, and. lxii. yere of his age, and of the foundation of Rome. vi. C. and. xl. as he was in Danony now called Hongarie, with his hoste and Commode his sonne, at a citie called Venedobone, situate vpon a riuer, that had. iiii. M. fire houses: and beinge in wynter, and the waters great, & very weate
wether

wether, he beinge in the felde about the. xxx. day of December: Sodainly vpon a nyght as he went with lanternes about his campe, there toke hym a syckenes or palsey in one of his armes, so that he coude not welde his speare nor yet drawe his swerde, nor put on his owne clothes. Than this good emperour charged with yeres, and with no lesse thoughtes, and wynter increasynge with manye great snowes, and frefynge of the erthe, there fell on him an other malady called Lptarge, the whiche put the Barbariens in great hardynes, and his hoste in great heuy-nes, his person in peryl, and his frendes in great suspect of his helthe. There was done to hym all the experience that coude be founde by medicines, as vnto great princis and lordes is accustomed. And all dyd him no profite: by reason the maladye was greuous, and the emperour charged with yeres, and the ayre of the lande was contrarie to hym, and the tyme helped him nothinge: and also he was not well intended. And as men of woꝛshyppe setteth moze by their honour than by their lyues, and had rather dye with honour, than lyue dyshonoured, to assure theyꝝ honour, they aduenture euery houre their lyues, and had leauer haue one houre of honour, than a. C. yeres of life: So thus this sicke emperour caused him selfe to be boꝛne all about his campe, and went to see the scarmishes, and wold slepe in the felde: the which was not without gret peryll of his lyfe, nor without great trauayle of his persone. Thus on a day the emperour being in a great feuer and letten bloudde, herde a great clamour or noyse in the feld: made by his men that had bzought home great quantitie of fourage, and their ennemies sette on them to rescue it, there was medlynge on bothe parties, the one to beare away, and the other to defende: The Romayns foꝛ hungre, dyd what they coude to beare it awaye: And the

C.iii.

Hun-

Hungariens fro whence it came, made resystence: They medled so one with an other, and their debate was so cruell, that there was slayne. v. capitayns of the Romayns, the worst of them was moze worth than all their fourage that they had won. And of the Hungariens were so many slayne, that al the fourage that they had lost, was not so moche worth. Certainly considering the crueltie that was there done, the profite that came therby was very smalle to the Romaynes, so that there went but a few away with the fourage, & of the Hungariens fewet was left to make resystence. The emperour seinge the pl order, and that by the reason of his bloudde lettynge and feuer, he was not present at that acte, he toke suche a heuynes at his harte, wherby he fell into suche a traunce, that it was thoughte he had ben deade: and so he lay .iii. nyghtis and two days that he coude se no lyght of the skye, nor speke to any persone. The heate of his sickenes was greate, and his paynes greater, he dranke moche and ate tyttelle, he coude not slepe, his face was yelow, and his mouthe blacke. Somtime he lifted vp his eies, and oft tymes ioyned his handes to gether: He spake nothinge, and sighed many tymes. His throte was so drie, that he coude not spytte: his eyes were very soore with sobbynge and wepynge. It was greate compassyon to see his dethe: and a great plage of confusyon to his howse, and also the very great losse of his warre. There durste no manne loke vppon hym, and fewet speake to hym. Panutius his Secretarie, sorowynge at his harte, to see his mayster so nere his dethe, on a nyght in the presence of dyuers other that were there he sayd to him.

The wordes of Panutius Secretarie to the emperour at the houre of his death. Cap. xl.

D Mar:



Marcus my lord, there is no tongue that can
 be styll, nor any hert suffre, nor eies dissimule,
 nor wytte that can permytte it: My bloudde
 congeleth, and my sinewes drie, the stones ope-
 nethe, and my soule wolde passe forth: the
 ioyntes vniopne a sonder, and my spiritis are troubled,
 bycause you take not the wise and sage counsaile, the whi-
 che ye gaue to other that were symple. I see you my lord
 die, and I ought to be soore displeased therewith. The so-
 rowe that I fele at my hert is, how you haue lyued lyke a
 wise person, and at this houre you do lyke a simple man.
 Tenne yere a knight giueth mete to his hors, to thentent
 that he shoulde kepe him fro peryll: and all that the wyse
 man studieth for a longe season, oughte to be to passe his
 lyfe with honour, and to take the deth with great vertue.
 Right dere lord I demaunde of you: what proufite is it
 to the maryner to knowe the carde of the see, and after to
 peryshe in a tourment or tempeste? what prouffyte is hit
 to a capitayne to speake moche of warre, and after know
 not howe to gyue battaylle? whatte proufyteth hit to a
 knyght to haue a good hors, and to falle in the strete?
 what profiteth it to teche an other the plain way, and him-
 selfe to wander aside? I say what profyted hit the force of
 your lyfe, that you esteemed so lyttell your lyfe, many ty-
 mes sekynge your deathe? And at this howre that you
 haue founde deathe, you wepe bycause it wyll take away
 your lyfe? Whatte thnges haue I wytten with myne
 hande beinge your Secretarie, dyuisid by your hyghe
 and profounde vnderstandynge, to wchynge the stroke of
 deathe? what thynge was it to see the letter, that you sent
 Claudine vpon the deth of her hus bande? what wrote
 you to Anthygone, whan your sonne Verissimus dyed?
 wherin your vertue dydde console his heuynesse. what
 hygh

hygh thinges dyd I write in the booke that you sent to the
 Senate in the yere of the great pestilence: comfortynge
 them after the great mortalitie passed: wherein you dydde
 shewe them howe lyttell men shulde set by deathe, & what
 profite foloweth therby. And I haue sene and herde you
 blason dethe in your lyfe, and nowe you wepe, as though
 you shuld lyue here styll. Syth that the goddis commāde
 it, and your age requireth it, & your sickenes is the cause,
 and nature permitteth it, and fortune consenteth to it, and
 is the fatall destenie of vs all, than you must nedes dye.
The trauayles that come of necessitie, ought with a good
courage to be abyden. For the couragious feeleth not so
 sore the harde strokes, as the weake that falleth or he be
 foughten with. you are but one man, and nat two: and
 ye ought to haue one deathe and not two. Therfore why
 wolde ye for one lyfe haue two dethes, enterrynge the bo-
 dy, and sleinge the spirite with sighes: After so many pe-
 rilles of longe lyfe to take a sure porte, wyl ye lyfte by the
 sayles, and entre ageyne into the swalowe of the see, for to
 engloutte you: In the see you haue chaced the bulle and
 scaped his woodnes, and nowe ye refuse to entre into the
 parke, where you may surely slee him. You make assaute
 with victorie of your lyfe, and wyl die atteyning the deth.
 you haue fought. lxi. yerres in the campe of miserie, and
 nowe you feare to entre into your sepulchre: you haue got
 out of the busshes and thornes, wherein you were closed:
 and nowe at this howe you stamble in the faire way: you
 haue had in certayne the domage of your lyfe, and nowe
 ye put in doubte the proufite of your deathe: you are en-
 tred into the campe of defieng of the worlde: and nowe
 you wolde turne your backe, whan it is tyme to put your
 handes to armes. Lxii. yere you haue fought agaynste
 fortune: and nowe you close your eyes, bycause fortune
 wylle

wyl strike you. I say it bycause that wyllyngly you refuse this present dethe, the whiche wyl cause vs to haue your lyfe passed suspect. What do you hye and myghty pynce? Why wepe you lyke a childe: & why sygh you as one in dispaire: if you wepe bicause ye shal die, why did you laugh so moche in your lyfe tyme: For of moche laughynge in the lyfe tyme cometh moche wepyng at the deth. Wyl you do that you can not do: and not be content with that you may do: The grounde and pasture that is common, you wolde ioyne to your owne, the renowme of the common welthe you applyed to your owne heritage. Of a subsidy or lone you wolde make your perpetuall righte. I wylle shewe you who be deed. All be deed and shall dye. And amonge all other you wolde all onely lyue. Wyl ye haue that of the goddis that they be goddis for: That is bycause you are mortall, that they make you immortal. And that you haue for priuilege, whiche they haue by nature: I that am but simple, demaunde one thyng of you my lord, that are auncient and wyse: whiche is the greatest or least welthe, to dye well or lyue yll: To lyue welle no man can attayne certaynly, for hungre, thirst, solitarines, persecution, yf fortune, sycknesses, and disfauours. This can be called no lyfe, but rather deth. If an ancient man wolde make a shewe and booste of his lyfe, fro the tyme of his birthe to the layinge in his graue, and the body to shew all that it hath suffred by dolours, and the harte to discouer all the strokes of fortune: I imagin that the goddis wolde haue meruaylle therof, and men wolde be abashed therof, that the body coude suffre so moche, and the herte beare it. I hold the grekes wisest, for they wepe whan their childerne are borne, and they syng whan an olde man dyeth: but the Romayns syng at the byrthe of their chyldren, and wepe whan they dye olde. Certaynly

to laugh at the deth of them that die olde, sith they dye to laugh: and to wepe at the birth of children, sith they are bozne to wepe, and that lyfe abyde the sentence of ylle: than it approueth that the dethe is good. Wyl you that I save one veritie to you, I haue alwayes sene, that the counsell in the wysest mā sonest faileth him. Such as wold gouerne al thinges by their opinions, of necessitie in some or in the mooste parte they do erre and fayle. O Marc my deere lord, wene you, that haue caused to burpe so many, that some shulde not burpe you in lykewyse? As you haue sene the ende of their dayes, other shal se the ende of your yeres. Therfoze me semeth it were better for you to dye, and to go your way to attayne so moche welth, than to scape and to lyue in so moche myserie. If you fele deth, I haue no meruayle syth you are a man. But I meruayle that you do not dissimule hit, sith you are discrete. They that haue clere vnderstandyng fele many thinges at their herte, that putteth them to peyne, whiche they shewe not outwarde, for the presumption of honour. If al the poyson that is in a heuy harte were sprede abroad in the weke fleshe by smalle greynes, no walles shulde suffyse vs to rubbe, nor our nayles to scratche. For certaynly the dethe is but a play, wherin the player, if he be apt, aduentureth but lyttell to wyne moche, and they that play may se wel that this is a wily play, and not of strength. And that also as well they lese that haue but a smalle carde, not fearynge deathe, as they that with a great carde loueth long lyfe? What thinge is dethe but a trappe doze, wherin the tent is closed, in the whiche is solde al the miseries of our lyfe? Thus the goddis do change vs from an olde fylthy house into a newe. And what other thing is the sepulchre, but a castelle, wherin we be closed against the assautes of the lyfe. Of trouth you ought moze to couete to take that you

finde at your deth, than the hurt of that you shall leaue in your lyfe. I demand of you, what is it that doth you most peyne in lesynge of the life: if you peine your selfe for Helie Fabrice your wife, bycause you leaue her yonge. wepe not your selfe, for she is wel thought on in Rome, for any peryll of your lyfe. And as sone as she knoweth it, I am in certayne she wyll not wepe moche, though you go your way. Thā you ought not to wepe for leuing of her. These yonge damoyfels married to old men, haue euer their eies fixed in the deth of their husbandis. And holly fasten their hartes on him that they thinke to mary with agein. They wepe with their eies, & be glad in their hartes. And truste not though she be an emperesse, and can not fynde an other emperour to be her hus bande, yet she wil finde som other. For if they be so determined, they wyll chāge their robes of satyn for a gowne of cloth. For I dare welle saye, they more desire a yōge sheparde, than an olde emperour. And if you care for your children, whom ye must leaue behynd you: I can not tel why you shulde do so. For if your deth be displeasent to them, moch more displeaseth them y you lyue so long. It is great peyn to a child, without he desire the dethe of his father, if he be yore than it is for fere how they shuld be maynteyned: if he be ryche, than bicause he shall be his heire. They singe and you wepe: you fere the deth & wepe bicause you leue your life. Do you not know, that after the nyght cometh the dewy moornyng: & after y cometh the bryght son: & after the son cometh a derk cloude and after again cometh faire wether, & after that cometh lightninge & thonder: & then agein clere aire? Also I say, that after infancy cometh childhode, thā cometh youthe, & age after that, and so at last cometh dethe, and after dethe fearfull hope of a sure lyfe. Sir beleue me in one thinge: The beginnynge, the meane, and the ende euery mā hath.

A.ii.

Cer=

Certainly if you had ben takē as the floure fro the herbe: if you had ben cut grene fro the tree, if you had ben grafed in primetime: if you had ben eaten in the sowzenes of the byne: I meane if in the firste youthe, whan lyfe was at the swetest, if dethe had come and knocked at the gate, ye shulde haue had cause to be sozie: but as now the walles are weake and redy to fall, and the flowre wythered, and the berie putrified, the speare fulle of mosse, and can not dꝛwae the knife out of the shethe: Herin you haue desired the worlde, as if you had neuer knowen the worlde. Lxii. yere you haue ben prisoner in the dongeon of the body: and now the shakils oꝝ giues shulde be taken frome you, you complayne: you loꝝde wold make newe of other newes. He that thinketh it not sufficiente to lyue. Lxii. yeres in this dethe, oꝝ to dye in this lyfe, he wyll not be content with thye scoꝝe thousande.

Auguste the emperour sayde, that after that men had lyued. l. yeres, they ought to die, oꝝ elles cause them to be slayne, bycause that vnto that tyme is the felicitie of mā. All that euer one lyueth beyonde y^e tyme, the poꝝe old mā passeth his tyme in heuines, in greuous aches, deth of his chyldzen, a losse of his goodes, in importunities of his chylderne in lawe, burienge of his frendes, susteyninge processe, payinge of dettis, and other infinite traualles: So that it were better with his eyes closed to abyde theym in his graue, than with his eyes open to abyde theym in his lyfe dayes. Certaynly it is a fortune of all fortunes, and he is right priue with the goddis, that at. l. yere leaueth his lyfe. Foz al the time that he liuerh after is in decaying and neuer bypryght, but rollynge, relyng, and redy to fall. O Marc my dere loꝝde do you not know, that by the same way that lyfe gothe, cometh dethe: It is. lxxii. yere that ye haue soughte the one from the other. And whan ye wente
fro

fro Rome, where as you left your house, and went to Il-
 liriike, where you leste a greate pestilence: and nowe you
 are retourned into Hungarie. Do you not knowe, that as
 soone as you were bozne to gouerne the erthe, incontinet
 dethe issued out of his sepulchze to fynde your lyfe: And
 if you haue honoured ambassadours of the straunge kin-
 ges, moche more ye ought to honour deathe, that cometh
 fro the goddis: what lordship can be lost in this lyfe, but
 you shall finde greater in the deathe: Are you not remē-
 bzed whā Vulcan my sonne in lawe poysoned me, bicause
 he desired my goodes more than my lyfe. Thanne you my
 lord for loue that you had to me, gaue me comforte and
 counsell, for the deth of my sorrowful youth: and you said
 to me, the goddis were cruell in kyllinge of them that be
 yonge: and pitiefull, whan they burie them that be olde.
 And also you sayde to me: Comforte thy selfe Panutius:
 For if thou dydst lyue to dye, now than thou diest to lyue.
 Therfore right high and myghty prince, I say to you, as
 you sayde to me: and I counsell you as you counsayled
 me: and that you gaue me, I gyue you agayne. Finally
 of this repinge take the best in worth, & let the rest abide.

Howe the emperour demanded to haue in writinge
 all that the Secretarie had sayde. Cap. xli.



And as of the contentynge of the wylle often-
 tymes procedeth helthe and ease of the bodye,
 the emperour was wel satisfied with the woꝝ-
 des of Panutius, whiche he eloquently vtte-
 red, and with profounde counsell, hardily and
 familiarly, and in due tyme, as a good frende. Great co-
 passion it is to them that wold die, whā it is shewed them
 what they ought to do. For of them that be about the bed,

U.iii.

Some

M A R C V S

Somme robbe him of his money, somme serue him well, some holde the place to be his heire, somme gapyng for giftes, somme wepe for losse of him, somme also laugh for the gaynes by his deathe, and so in this maner the pooze pacient haupnge many lookinge for their profyte hath no body to counsell him. We se daily that seruantes whā they se the going out of the cādel of lyfe, care not for the cōclūg of their lordes vices. And therof cometh, that as sone as he is deed, streight way beginneth to stinke. And so I say that the ende of his lyfe is the beginninge of his infamy. All they that were there, as well the olde seruantes as the newe, belonginge to the emperour, capitayns of warre and other, were not a lyttell abashed of the sayenge of Panutius, and they all allowed his sayenge, and saide he was worthy to haue the gouernaunce of thempire. The good emperour all the season that Panutius spake, wept with depe sighes fro his herte. And bycause he was so sore greued, he coude not forthwith giue him an answer: At the last he commanded Panutius to gyue him in wrytinge all that he had sayde, to thentent that he myght study theron. For he said, it was no reson, to forget thinges so well said. So al the rest of that nyght the Secretarie occupied himselfe to put in wryting the same sayinge: and the next day he delyuered it to the emperour, whiche toke it and looked theron all the day: and kept it styl in his handis, and oftē times redde theron, And the next nyght the emperour sente for the Secretarie, & in open audiēce he said as foloweth.

The answer of the emperour to Panuti⁹. Ca. clii.

Happy was the mylke that thou suckedst in Dacie, & the bread that dyddest eate at Rome, and the lernyng that thou haddest in Athenes, and thy bringyng vp in my hous.

hous. For in my life thou hast wel serued me, and at my
dethe thou hast well counsayled me. I commande Com-
modus my sonne to rewarde the for thy good seruice. And
I pray the goddis to recompence the for thy counsel. The
reward for diuers seruices a mā may make: but þ rewarde
for good counsel al the goddis had nede to do. The gretist
reward that one frende may do to an other, is in a great &
weightie matter to succour him with good counsell. All þ
trauailes of the worlde are weightie, but the trauayle of
dethe is the weightiest: all be perillous, but that is moste
perillous: all ben great, but this is the grettest: al thingis
hath an ende at last by deth, saufe only deth, whose ende is
vnknowē. He that is hurt with deth, is as he þ is sicke of
the sleping euill, hauing a quicke vnderstonding, & yet he
knoweth no man, & many thinges beinge offered to him,
he can determine vpon none. yet againe I say, he is a true
and faithfull frende, that in suche time wil giue good coun-
sell to his frende. All they that here this that I say, wil say
that it is true. But I sweare that no man can knowe hit
perfiteley, but he that is in case that I am in, redy to dye.
Lxii. yere hath ben the cours of my lyfe, and nowe deathe
commaundeth me to close myn eies, & to folowe the cours
of deth. Mozeouer as thou knowest not the infirmitie, so
thou approchest not to the cure and helthe. The dolour is
not there as thou hast made defensiuēs, it is not the fistu-
la where against thou hast giuen cautere, it is not against
opilations that thou hast giuen siropes, it is not in þ bey-
nes þ thou hast giuen me incision: Thou hast not wel he-
led the wounde that thou hast stiched me. I say that thou
must entre further in me to knowe perfiteley myne accesse.
The sighes that procede fro the botom of my hert can not
be vnderstanden with heringe of them: the goddis alonly
know þ thoughtis of þ hart. Also diuers thingis ar in me
that

that I knowe not of my selfe, no moze than that is with-
out me. O Panutius thou accusest me that I feare dethe.
To feare it greatly, I deny it: but I confesse to feare it as
a man. Certaynly to denie that I feare nat dethe, than I
muste denye that I am not made of fleshe. We se that the
Olyphant feareth the lyon, and the beare feareth the oly-
phant, and the wolfe feareth the beare, and the shepe fea-
reth the wolfe, and the ratte the catte, and the catte the
dogge, and the dogge the man; and all onely their feare
is, that they dzed to be slayne. Than if these brute bestis
refuse dethe, not fearinge the fyghtyng with furions spi-
rites, nor the eniopenge with the goddis: howe moche ra-
ther than ought we to feare the dethe. For we are in doute
to be tozne in pieces with the furies in their peynes, or to
be receyued in pleasure with the goddis. Therfore I say,
that of naturall feare of deathe, I haue ouercome with
the bydell and lyberties of reason. Thinkest thou Panu-
tius, that I se not my grasse wasted, and my grapes ga-
thered, that my house breaketh, and that I haue nothing
lefte but the stocke of the grapes, the skinne of the fleshe,
and but one onely blaste of all my lyfe. Thou seest wel-
le that by the tokens the exercise is sene. And nettes be caste
in the riuers, and in the parkes bulles ben chased. I do
say that the rumour of deth holdith in sauetic the lyfe that
is in me, at this houre redy armed ageinst dethe. I make
battayle with deathe, at this houre baraine and naked of
lyfe: and so redy to entre into the sepulchre: at this houre
I shall entre into the campe, where as I shall not be go-
red with bulles, but shall be eaten with woymes: and fy-
nally I shall go fro whens I can not flee. Thus I hope
abydinge dethe. And this I say bycause you shall knowe
that I knowe it, and that thou shalt fele that I fele. And
to the entent thou lyue unbegiled I will tell the a secrete.
The

secrete. The nouelties that thou hast sene in me, as in ab-
 horringe of meate, bereuyng of slepe, leuyng alone, we-
 rynges of company, Drownyng in sighes, and pastyme in
 weppng: Thou mayst well thinke, what turment ought
 to be in the see of my harte, whan suche tremblynges and
 motions of erthe and reynes are set in the erthe of my bo-
 dy. Shal I shew þ, wherfoze my body is in this thought,
 and my herte in suche trouble? The cause why I suffre
 dethe so greuously, is that I leaue my sonne Commode
 in this lyfe in a perillous age for him, and suspicious for
 thempire. By the floures the frutes are knowen, and the
 vines in burgenyng: by the colt the hors is knowen, whe-
 ther he shall be meke or stubborne for labour or cariage: &
 in the youthe the yonger man is knowen: and by the lytell
 that I se in my lyfe by my sonne Commode, I feare me it
 wyll be lesse after my deith. Thou knowest not why I say
 thus. And I say it not without cause: for my sonne Com-
 mode is very yonger, and yet yonger in wytt. He is of an
 yll inclination, but he be forced: he gouerneth hym selfe
 by his owne wytt and vnderstādyng, as though he were
 a man of experience: he knoweth but lyttelle, and careth
 for nothyng. Of the tyme passed he hath no knowlege:
 all onely he occupieth hym selfe with the tyme present. Fi-
 nally by that I se with myn eyes, and thinke in my herte,
 I feare me the persone of my sonne shall be in peryll, and
 the memorie of his fathers house peryllshe. Faustyne his
 mother hath fostred hym to delycatly: and by a harde sto-
 ny grounde he hath a great way to go. He entreth as now
 alone into the pathe of youth without any guyde. I fere
 me he shall go out of the right waye, and wander in the
 bushes and thornes of vices. O Panutius harken what
 I say, I say it not without teares: thou seest that my son
 remayneth riche, yonger, and at libertie. Ryches, youthe,
 & solyta-

solitarines, and libertie ben. iiii. pestilences, that enpoysoneth the prince, and waste the common welth: it sleeth them that be alyue, & infameth them that be deed. Beleue me one thinge: dyuers graces are requisite to susteyn diuers vertues. With the fairest women the brothel houses are peopled, the mooste vilaynes are made ruffiens: the mooste hardye are robbers in woddes: the quickest of vnderstandynge ofte proue fooles: and the mooste subtylle becom theues. I say that such as are clothed with dyuers graces of nature, lacke the furies of acquired vertues. We may say, they hold in their hādes a knyfe, wherwith they stryke and hurte them selfe: fire on their shoulders, wherwith they bren: and a corde about their necke, wherwith they hange: daggers at their stomacke, wherwith they are slayne: thornes at their feete, wherwith they are pricked: a stony way afoze their eies, where they stamble, and stomblyng fall, and fallyng they lese their lyfe, and wyne dethe. The great trees of whom we haue fruite in wynter and shadowe in sommer, first is planted the rotes fast in the entrayles of the erthe, or euer their waueringe boughes are aduentured in the wynd. Marke Panutius marke well. The man that from his youth hath set befoze hym the fere of the goddis, and the shame of men, is habited in vertues: & he that accompanieth with them that be vertuous, mainteyneth trouth to euery mā, and lyueth without p̄iudice of any man. Malicious fortune maye somtyme cleue the barke of the welth of suche a tree, wyther the floure of his yowthe, breake the leaues of his fauour, gather the fruite of his trauaylle, breake downe & bough of his offices, & bowe down the height of his counsell: yet for all the strokes that the wynde can strike, it can not be plucked vp by the rote. Certaynely the sonne that the father hath endewed with graces, and the sonne appli
enge

enge hym in vices, ought not to be bozne in this worlde :
 & if he be bozne, to be buried quicke. For the fathers sweat
 by day, and watche by nyght, to leue honour to their chil-
 dern, whiche the fathers bye of the goddis with sighes, &
 the mothers delyuered of them with peyne, and bring the
 vp with trauayle : and the chylde proueth so, that he gy-
 ueth greuous age to the father in his lyfe, and great infam-
 y after his deth. I consider wel, that the prince Comode
 being yonge and I olde, ageinst his wyl forbare vices : &
 I fere me that after my deth he wyl hate vertues. I remē-
 bze diuers of his aege haue enherited the empyre, whiche
 were so hardy in their lyues, that they deserued to be cal-
 led tyrantes after their dethes. Exāple of Denys renou-
 med tirāt of Syccill, which hired them that coude inuent
 vices, as our Rome rewardeth them y conquere realmes.
 What gretter tyranny can be in a tyrāt, than to make most
 priuite to him the that be vicious : Also I forget not y four
 kingis, that succeded after gret Alexander, as Ptholome,
 Anthioc⁹, Silui⁹, & Antigonus, which the grekes called
 great tirantis : al that Alexander had gotē with renoumēd
 triūphes, they lost by their viciousnes. And in this maner
 the world y Alexander had deuided among them. iiii. came
 to the hādys of mo than foure. C. for Antigonus set so litle
 by that had cost his lord Alexander so moch, & was so light
 in his age, & so bold in his realme, y in mockery in y stede
 of a crowne of gold, he ware a garland of Iule : & in stede
 of a sceptre, he bare a thystle in his right hand : and after
 that maner he wold syt among his men, & whan he spake
 to strangers. I lay shame to the yong man so to do, but I
 meruaile that the sadde and wyle men of Grece suffred it.
 I remēbze also Caligula the. iiii. emperour of Rome,
 a yonge man, in whose tyme it was harde to knowe, whi-
 che was the greater, eyther the disobedience of the people
 to their

to their lord, or the hatred that the lord bare to the people. And this yonge prince went so farre out of the waye in his youthe, and was so farre wyde from reason in his tyrannies, that euerye man studyed howe to take his lyfe from hym: & he studied to slee euery man. He wrote these wordes in a table of golde: Wolde to god that all Rome hadde but one heed, to the entent that with one stroke I myght strike it of.

Also remembre Tyberie, sonne adoptiue of good Auguste, called August, bycause he augmented Rome. But this good olde prince dyd not so moche augment it in his lyfe, but this yonge successour destroyed it moch more after his deathe. The hate that the Romaine people had agaynste Tyberie in his lyfe was ryghte well shewed after his dethe. For the same day that he died, or whan he was slayne, the people made dyuers processions, and the senators offred great gyftes in the temples, and the priestes offred gret sacrifices to their goddis, to thentet that they shulde not receyue the soule of the sayd Tyberie into their glozie: but to sende it to the furies of Hell.

Also I mynde Patrocle the seconde kynge of Corynthe, whiche enherited the realme beinge but. xvi. yere of age, and he was so vicious of his body and so lyberall of his mouthe, that where as his father helde the realme. lx. yere, he possessed it but. xxx. days.

Also the auncient Tarquin the proude, the. vii. kynge of Rome, whiche was right goodly in gesture, ryght valiant in armes, and of a clene bloudde, as an unhappye prince defyled all his vertues with noughty lyuynge: in suche wise that he conuerted his beaultie into lechery, his power into tyrany, for the villanie that he dyd to Lucrece the chaste lady of Rome: wherby he lost not onely his realme, but the name of Tarquin was banysshed for ever out

out of Rome.

I remembre cruelle Nero, whiche enherited and dyed yonge: & in him ended the memoire of the noble Cesars: and by hym was renewed the memoire of Antygones the tyrantes. Whom thinkest thou this tirant wolde suffre to lyue, whiche slewe his owne mother? Tel me I pray the, what harte is that of a chylde, to sle his owne mother, to open the brestes that he sucked, to shed the bloode of her that nourished hym in her armes, and to beholde the entrayles, wherein he was fourmed? What thynkest thou, that he wolde not haue done, sith he comyncted suche an yll dede? The day that Nero slew his mother, an oratour sayd in the senate, that Agrippine his mother had deserued deth for chyldeing suche a childe in Rome. These thre dayes that thou haste sene me so altered in my mynde, all these thynges came befoze me: and I haue drawen them into the depenes of my harte, and disputed them. This sonne of myn holdeth me in the gulfe of the see, betwene the wawes of feare, and the ankers of dispaire, hoppyng that he shulde be good, bycause I haue nourysed hym well, and fearyng that he shulde be ylle, bicause his mother Faustine hath brought hym vppe wantonly, and the yonge man is inclyned to yll. And as ye se a thyng made by artifice peryshe, and a naturall thinge laste: I am in great feare that after my dethe he wyll tourne that waye that his mother hath childed hym, and not as I haue nourysed hym. O how happy were I, if I had neuer a childe to leue behynde me to be emperour? Then a chylde myght be chosen amonge children of good fathers, and I shulde not haue ben troubled with him that the goddis haue gyuen me. Panutius I demaunde one thyng of the, whether thou callest mooste fortunate Vaspasian the naturall father of Domitian, or els Nerua the father adoptife of

E.iii.

Traian:

Traian? Vaspasian was good, and Nerua very good, & Domitian was of all other mooste cruelle, and Traiane the myrrour of all clemency. The regard how Vaspasian in the fortune to haue childzen was unhappy, and Nerua in the mysfortune to haue childzen was happy. I knowe not why these faders desire to haue childzen, sith they be the occasion of so moche trauayle. O Panutius, I wylle say one thing to the, as a frende to a frend (as thou knowest wel we be in this worlde) I haue lyued. lxiij. yeres, in whiche tyme I haue redde many thinges, and haue herd, sene, desired, atteyned, possessed, suffred and rested moch, and now at this tyme I must dye: and of al thing I shal beare nothyng away, bycause both it and I are nothing. Gret besynes the hart hath to serche for these goodes, and great trauayle to come to them: but without comparison the greatest dolour is at the houre of the deth to departe and leaue them. what greater disease can be to the body, than sodeynely to be surprised with ennemies? what perille of the see or losse of frendes can be egalle, to se a vertuous man drawe to his deathe, to leue the sweate of his face? the auctoritie of the empire, the honour of his person, the company of his frendes, the remedye of his detours, the rewardinge of his seruantes, and to leaue it to a chylde, that hath not merited it, nor hath not the power to wylle to merite it.

In the. ix. table of the lawes were these wordis wyttē: We comaunde and ordeyne, that euery father, who in the opinion of all men is good, shall disherite his sonne that is yll in euery mans opinion. Also euery chylde, what so euer he be, that disobeyeth his father, and robbeth any temple, or hurte any wydowe, so that he blede, flee fro the baytaye, or do any treason to a stranger, who so euer is foude in any of these fyue cases, lette him be banysched for euer the

the habitation of Rome, and cast out fro the heritage of his father.

In good sothe this lawe was good, and in the tyme of Quintus Cincinate hit was ordeyned, and nowe by vs whiche be vnhappy, it is cleane leste and forgotten. Panutius without doubte I am wery to speake, and also I haue suche an impediment in my stomake, that I wante bzyeth: or elles I coulde shewe the all by order, yf myne vnderstondynge fayled me not, howe many Parthiens, Mediens, Assyriens, Caldiens, Indyens, Egyptyens, Hebrewes, Grekes, and Romaynes haue leste their chyl- dren pooze, and myght haue left them ryche: and al was bicause they were vicious: and other chyl- derne that were very pooze, were leste ryche, bycause they were good and vertuous. I swere to the by the immortall goddis, that whan I came fro the warres betwene the Parthiens and Rome, and that the tryumphe and glozve was gyuen to me, and my sonne confirmed to be emperour: I wolde the Senate hadde leste me my sonne Commodus pooze with all his byces, and that I hadde made the Senate heire & lord to the empire: and to haue chastysed hym to the exaumples of all the worlde. I wyll that thou knowe, I shall carie fyue thinges with me out of this worlde in- termedled, the whiche is great sorowe to my harte: The fyrste is, that I haue not determyned and iudged the plee and processe of the noble wydowe Fulia with the Se- nate, seinge that she is very pooze, and hathe no bodye to doo her Iustyce: The seconde is bycause I do not dye in Rome, to the intent that I myght cause to be cried and proclaymed euery where in Rome er I dyed, to wyte if a- ny complayned on me: the thyrde is, that where as I dyd flee. xiiii, tyrantes that vndyd the countreys, that I had not as well banysed all the Pirates that kepte the sees: the

the fourth is, that I left my dere sonne Verissimus Deed : and the. v. that I haue leste alyue, as heire to the empire my sonne Commodus. O Panutius the greatestt happe that the goddis can giue to a man (not couetous but vertuous) is to gyue hym renoume in his lyfe, & a good heire to conserue him after his deathe. Fynally to conclude, I pray to the goddis, if I shall haue any parte with them, that if by my sonnes offences Rome be sclaundred, and my renoume mynished, and my hous lost by his lyfe, that they wyll take away his lyfe yet o? I dye.

What theemperour sayde to the maysters of his sonne, and to the rulers of thempire. Cap. xliii.



Se you auncient fathers & noble Romanys, and ryght faythfull scruantes take peyne and sorowe for that I must yelde me to derthe, and leaue this lyfe, and treate with my sepulchre. Ye sorow for my sorowe, ye are turmented with myn angursh, & peyne d for my peiner it is no meruaylle. For the clere vnderstondynge of the pure blod of true and faythful frendes, is to double their trauayles and to wepe for other : if one brute beast mozne for an other, moche more ought one humayne creature sorowe for an other. And this I say, bycause I know by the teares of your eyes, the felpnge of your hartes. And syth that the greatestt rewarde for any benefyie is to know it, and thanke the partie therof : as moche as I can I thake you. And if my weake thanks be not corresponsent to your pitiefulle weppnge, I require the goddis after they haue taken away my lyfe, to rewarde you for my duetie. It is greatte pleasure for the familie to knowe their mai-
ster

fter go with the goddis, and great peyne to hym to leaue them. For company of many yerres is loth to leue the life. In my lyfe tyme I haue done with you as I ought to do, and as nowe I must do as I may. The goddis wyl take my soule away, Comodus my sonne the empire, the sepulchre my bodye, and ye my speciall frendes my herte. And sothly it is reason, that sithe ye were in the lyfe my hartis, that it be yours after my dethe. And in that I wyl speake moze particuler this night shall be our reasonyng. Nowe my hartie frendes ye se, that I am come to the ende of my laste iourney, and to the begynninge of my firste iourney with the goddis. It is reason, that syth I haue loued you in tyme past, that ye beleue me nowe. For the tyme is come that ye can demande nothyng of me: noz I haue nothing to offre you: noz myn eares as now can not here flateries, noz my herte suffre importunities: yf ye neuer knewe me, knowe me now. I haue ben he that I am, and am he that hath ben, in tymes paste lyke vnto you, somewhat: nowe ye se I am but lyttell, and within a lyttell whyle I shalbe nothyng. This daye shall ende the lyfe of Marke your frende, this daye shal ende the lyfe of Marc your parent, this day shal ende the fatall destenies of Marc your lord, this day shal ende the signorie of Marke your emperour, and this day shall ende his empire. I haue vanquysched many, and nowe I am ouercome with deth: I am he that hath caused many to dye, and I can not as now gyue my selfe one day of lyfe: I am he that hath entred into chariottes of golde, and this day I shall be layde on a bier of wodde: I am he for whome many haue songe merily, and this day they wepe: I am he that hath had company in all exercitees, and this day I shall be gyuen to hungry wormes: I am Marcus greatly renoumed, that with famous triumph mounted into the high capitolle, and this

day with forgetfulnes I shal discende in to the sepulchre.
 I se nigh with myn eies, that was farre hyd in my herte.
 And as the goddis be fauourable to you in this worlde, &
 equalle and fauourable to me in an other worlde, as my
 fleshe neuer toke pleasure to passe this lyfe, but my harte
 was sodaynely taken with the feare of deathe: than take
 no peyne for me, for eyther I muste see the ende of you, or
 you of me. I yelde greatte thanks to the goddis, that
 they take away this old person to rest with them, and leue
 you yonge for to serue in thempire. For there is no com-
 parison for to speake of deathe to the lyfe, nor to eschewe
 the deathe at the houre therof. And yet I wyl not deny, but
 I do feare deathe, as a mortal man. Whan the lyfe passeth
 there is no prudence in a prudent, nor vertue in a vertu-
 ous, nor lordshyp in a lorde, that can take away the feare
 of the spirite, nor peyne of the fleshe. At this tyme the
 soule and the fleshe are so combyned and so conglutinate
 to gyther, and the spirite with the bloude are so annexed,
 that the separation of the one from the other is the moste
 terrible, and the last terrible of all terriblenes. Certayne-
 ly it accordeth vnto good reasone, that the soule departe
 dolorous ly, leauynge the fleshe vnto wormes, and the bo-
 dy as enuious to se the soule go and sporte with the god-
 des. What lyttell thoughte we take in this lyfe, vntylle
we falle grouelynge with our eyes vppon deathe. Beleue
 me, Sythe I haue passed from whens ye be, and haue ex-
 perimented that ye do see, that is the vanities of vs that
 are vayne, is so agreable to vs, that whanne we begynne
 to lyue, we ymagine that our lyfe wylle endure a holle
 worlde, and whanne it is ended, hit semeth vs to be but a
 puffed or a blaste of wynde. And bycause than sensualitie
 peyneth for sensibylitie, and the fleshe for the fleshe, rea-
 son guyded with them that be mortall telleth me, that it
 peyneth

peyneth not with the departynge. If I haue lyued as a brute beaste, hit is reason that I dye as a discrete manne ought to do. I dyenge, this day shall dye al my syckenes, hungre shall dye, colde shall dye, all my peynes shall dye, my thought shall dye, my displeasure shall dye, and eue-ry thinge that gyueth payne and sorowe. This daye the nyght shall be taken away, and the sonne shyne bright in the skye: This day the ruste shall be taken from myn eyes, and I shall see the sonne clerely: This daye the way shall be made smothe for to goo righte: this is, the daye shall ende the iourneye, wherein I shall not dzeue the stapes of Fortune. I thanke the goddis immortall, that haue suffered me to lyue so clerely, and soo longe a tyme. This day I shall haue an ende of all vnhappy deslenies of en-vious fortune, and not they of me. Of trouthe if the goddis haue commaunded my flesshe to be hydden in the sepulchre, and to be as mortalle: yet if they be iuste and do well, they wyl make my renoume to be immortal, bycause I haue lyued well. Than syth I chaunge this wery lyfe and company of menne, for the sweteness of the goddis, and the doubtes of Fortune for this sure lyfe, and greate and contynuall feare for perpetuall peace, and this ylle and naughty corrupte lyfe for good renoume and glozve, I thynke verily this shulde be none yll chaunge.

It is now the scoze and two yerres sythe the erth hath susteyned and fedde the erthe of my bodye: It is now tyme that the erthe knowledg me for her sonne, and I wyl also take her for my mother. Wercly it is a pytyefull mother, that wylle now take me into her entraylles for euer, sythe that I haue so longe space trodden her vnder my feete. And yet though that I were as I am, for to be as she is, I am in certayne that she wolde kepe me suer among her wormes, thā Rome among the senatours.

Y.ii.

And

And al though it be paynful to you, yet if it plesse the goddis to haue it thus, no mā can excuse nor scape it. I shulde be right wel eased, if this webbe were broken, and my possession taken in the Sepulchre. Than shulde I haue the firste thing propre of myn owne, and perpetuall without any feare of lesinge therof. All thinges mortall, that mortalle folkes haue, and the enuye of them, that be enuious may be broken, except the deth and the sepulchre, the whiche are priuiledged from enraged hongre of enuy. I se you well shedynge teares from your eies, & reise heuy sighes frome the depenes of your hartes. Wylle ye not that I shulde desire deathe, sith the phisitians giue me but thre houres of lyfe: and there are conteyned in me. iii. Myres of peynes, the length wherof is a cyzonisme of dethe. And yet though our debilitie be weake, yet for al that our honour is so sensible, that at the houre of dethe, the more that the bones dischargeth them of the fleshe, the more is the herte charged with thoughtes. In maner that whan the sinewes vntye theym fro the bones of the body, than newely they tye agayne a sooze knotte to the herte. Nowe lette vs leaue speakynge of that to wcheth particularly my selfe, and speake we in generalle of that is conueniente to a yonge Prince, and to you that are his tutours and maysters.

I se here my sonne Comodus only prince and heire, abidinge for the heritage of thempire: neyther for beinge good, that he meriteth praise, nor for beinge yl represe. For he hath taken his naturalitie of the goddis, and his nature amonge you. Dyuers tymes whan he was a childe, ye toke hym in your armes, to thentent that nowe he is a man, ye shulde sette hym in your hertes. Hytherto he hath taken you for his maysters: and nowe at this tyme, he muste repute you as his fathers. And whiles I lyued, ye helde

helde hym for your prince in nourysshynge hym, for your
emperour in seruing him, and as your parent in helping
hym, and as your sonne in teachynge hym. Hytherto ye
onely helde him charge, as father, mother, and maysters:
he is now as a newe shyppe put this daye in to the right
see, fleting to the botomles swolowe, where as the sayles
of prosperitie wyll make hym fall, and the rockes of vn-
happynes wyll drowne hym. Than amonge so many vn-
fortunate wyndes and vnstable waters, there is greatte
necessitie of good oozes. Surely I am very sorre for them-
pire, and haue great compassion of this yong prince, and
suche as wolde his welthe, shall moze bewaylle his lyfe
than my dethe. For scapinge fro the see I se my selfe at a
good sure porte, and vpon mayne lande, and leaue hym
the sweate and trauayle. For as yet he knoweth not howe
to aduenture to sayle on the see: nor yet knoweth not whe-
ther he shal abyde the age of my long experience, nor whe-
ther he shall be a reasonable emperour or no. But whatte
shall sorowfull Rome do, whan it hath nourysshed a good
prince, and that fatall destenies maketh an ende of hym,
or that by enuy of them that be yll he is slayn: or the cru-
eltie of the goddis taketh hym away: or that the body by
his owne propre handes be lyfte vp in suche wise, that in
therperiment of princes al the life tyme parteth in bewai-
lynge the youthe of yonge princes, and the grauitie of
their auncient princes passed. ¶ If these princes beleued
at the beginnyng of their empire, other kinges that are
sayled in the worlde, how they be taught whan it is so im-
portable for one man withoute charge to rule so many re-
almes, and he doinge nothynge but take theyr goodes,
robbe him of his renoume, banishe their persons fro him,
and he to ende his lyfe, and his subiectes augment their
sorowes: and sithe he is but one, he can do no moze than

one, though dyuers hope that he doth for all. Regarde in
 what mysauenture a pynce lyueth, whan the least vilayn
 in Italy thinketh, that al only for hym and on hym alone
 the pynce setteth his eies. And sith the worlde is so chan-
 geable, and the people so vnruly, the day that a pynce is
 crowned and exalted with a sceptre ryall, the same daye
 he submitteth his goodis to the couetous, & all his estate
 to the semblaunce of other. Thus than in this the goddis
 shew their power. For al the vnderstandynges are racked
 to one free wyll. The sempyng of all they condemne, and
 allowe but one. They giue the domination to one, and the
 subiection to many. To one they gyue the chastisement
 of all, & not all to the chastisement of one. For the taste of
 many, they giue meate but to one: the sauour wherof is
 swete to some, and sowre to other: to some remaineth the
 bone, and to some the fleshe: at the last some be drowned &
 other be hyndred, & at the end al haue an ende. I wold de-
 mand of you that be most familer, what is the crowne of
 thempire, or the sceptre of gold, or the coler of perles or p-
 cious stones, or robes of Alexander, or vessel of Corinth, or
 chariottes of triūph, or what offices of Consules or dicta-
 tours are desired in change of their rest? for it is certaine,
 they can not attayn to the one, without lesing of the other.
 And this is the cause þ there be pl mariners, & to hardi pi-
 lottes, for they fle fro the se to the lande, & fro the lande to
 the see. One thing I wil say, þ is ageinst my self: euery mā
 hateth warre, & no man sekith for peace. All sorowe for one
 that is angred, and none is cōtent to appeace, al wold cō-
 mande, but none wil be cōmaunded. This hath ben in the
 worlde passed, & now at this present time men be so light, þ
 they rather chuse to cōmand with peril, than to obey with
 rest. Seinge that my days are diminished, & my sickenes
 augmented, suspecting thā that I se now, whan I retur-
 ned

ned fro the warre of Syccil, I determyned to make my te-
 stament, the whiche ye may se here: Open and beholde it,
 and therby ye shall se howe I leaue you to be maysters of
 my son, yet in loue and fidelitie ye be to gither all as one.
 Great peryll the prince is in, and the common welth in an
 yll aduenture, where as be many intentions amonge the
 gouernours. Certaynly the princis are glorious, and the
 people well fortunate, and the senate happy, whan all a-
 gree in one counsell, and that the counsaylers be ancient,
 and many of them, and al their intētions agree vpon one
 thinge. Whan this was in Rome, it was feared and dzed
 of tirantes, hauinge their consultations approued with
 iiii. C. barons. And though their reasons were diuers, yet
 their wylles and intētis were al one for the cōmon welth,
 I desire and coniure you by the goddes, that ye be all frē-
 des in conuersation, and confozmable in counsell. All the
weke debilities in a prince may be suffrid, except yll coucel:
and all defautes of counsayllours are tollerable, excepte
enuy & ire. Whā the fretting woꝝm called a mothe, entreth
 amonge them, it causeth peryll in Justice, dishonour to
 the prince, sclander in the commons, and parcialite in the
 superiours. The couſayler that hath his minde ouercome
 with ire, and his herte occupied with enuy, and his woꝝ-
 des outragious to a good man, it is reson that he lose the
 fauour of the goddis, his priuete wick the prince, and the
 credence of the people. For he presumeth to offende the
 goddis with yll intention, to serue the prince with yll cou-
 cel, and to offende the common welth with his ambition.
 O how ignorant are these princis, that take hede of suche
 herbes & venims that myghte poyson them in their mea-
 tes, and care not for the poyson that they of their priuie
 couſayle do gyue them: Doubtles there is no cōparison,
 for the herbes and poysons can be giuen but on one daye:
 but

but the venyme of yll counsell is giuen euery houre. Venym is defended by the horne of an vnicozne, by tryacle, and other wyse by vomites: but the payson of yll counsell hath no remedy, and lesse defensiuës. And finally I saye, that the venym gyuen by an enemy can but slee one emperour in Rome, but the payson gyuen by hym that is most priue to euill counsell, sleeth the emperour, and destroyeth the common welthe. And where as euery vertuous prince setteth more by perpetuall renoume than this fallible lyfe, ye beinge gouernours of thẽpire, and maysters to my sonne, they that owe hym yll wyll haue not so moch power ouer his lyfe, as ye haue vpon his renoume. Therefore if he be awaked by his enemies straungers, moche rather he ought to be awaked amonge his domesticall frendes. One thinge I commaunde as to my seruantes, and I desire you as my frendes, that ye shewe not your selfe so priue openly, as ye be in secreete: to thẽtent that some seme not as natural sonnes, and other as hired seruantis. He that is vertuous, oughte to haue great regarde to the profite of his lordẽ secretly, and to be of meke conuersation with euery man openly, els his priuitie wyll not lōge endure, and the hate of the prince with the people wyll increase. Oftentymes I haue redde of our predecessours, and I haue sene it in the present Romaynes, whan many holde with one, that one holdeth but lyttell with dyuers, and lesse with many, the whiche kepeth their willes as far of, as the persons be nigh. And sith the ylnes of the time, and vnstabilnes of fortune neuer leaueth any thinge in one case, but all is as in maner of a dreame: the moste sure purchase is to flee fro peril, for then whā the princes haue passed their pleasures entermedled in trauailes, they serche for many and finde not one. Therof cometh, that one present for feare will withdraue hym, and an other out of fauour

fauour and absente wyll not come. I wyll shewe you one thinge, the whiche ye shall alwaye put in my sonnes memorie: They that in our trauayles haue determyned of a longe selson to apply them, we ought to wyne their good willes. The wily labourer in one yere labourer to gette cornes together, and in an other yere he soweth and gadereyth. Be not to presumptuous, for the presumption of an auncient prince, fordoth the auctorite of the yong prince: yet for al this dispraise nor rebuke him not to moche: For the lacke of maners in the state of a lord engendreth vnshamefastnes in him, and boldnes to the seruant. I haue lefte in my testament the prince Comodus for your sonne, and you for his fathers. But I wyll and commande, that euery man knowlege him to be their lord, and to be at his commaundement. And ye my other seruantes and subiectes to be his in obedience, and in all his hye besynesses to be well guyded as his frendes and louers. Justice ought to be sene to, by wise oratours, accordinge to the opinion of you that be his gouernours. And alwaye the determination to be done by the prince, which is lord of al. One counsell I wyll gyue you, and if ye finde it yll, blame me afore the goddis, and than the empire of my sonne shalbe stable and permanent in Rome, and your priuete sure in his hous, if your counselles be moued by reason, and his wyll ruled by your counsels. I desire soore that ye be not couetous: and therfore I haue gyuen you dyuers gyftes and thankes in my lyfe, to take couetousnes from you afore my dethe. It were a most ruinous thing and very dredfull, that suche as ought to refrayne couetyse fro straungers, to haue their owne handes open for their owne propre lucre. The vertuous priue men, ought not to do all the yll that they may, nor to desire all that they may atteyn vnto, to the intente that the prince gyue theym so moche

Z

goodes

goodes for the profite of their houses, as payne and enuy
 of the people to their persons. And as in meane shippes
 men scape best in a meane see, soner than in great carrac-
 kes, in the wawes of the rolinge and impituous sees: in
 likewise suche as be in meane estate amonge them that be
 but meanly enuious, lyue moze surely, than suche as are
 sette in high estate and priuetic beinge ryche, to be passy-
 oned among ennemies, that disdaynfully wold put them
 vnder. It is a notable rule amonge wise men, and an in-
 fallible experience amonge them that be good, & I thinke
 that by heringe therof the yll shall knowlege it: The glo-
rie of one amonge great men maketh stryfe, suspicion in
them that be egal, and enuy amonge them that be meane.
 One thinge, that they that gouerne well, ought to haue,
 is liberalitie. The lesse ye be couetous, the moze ye shalbe
 lyberal. For with the rage of couetousnes the right of Ju-
 stice is mynished. It is longe tyme sicke I determyned to
 gyue you the gouernynge of thempire, and the nourishing
 of my sonne. And to haue prouyded to haue gyuen you
 largely of my goodes, to put the couetyng of other mens
 goodes from you. I warrant you one thing: yf couetous-
 nes be amonge you, and be enuied of your neyghbours,
 ye shall lyue in payne, and your hartes shall be payned
 with other mens besynesses, and your mindes shalbe euer
 in suspect. Than shal ye folow the Justice of other, where
 as ye shal se your owne ppre welth. One counsell fynally I
 wyl gyue you, which I haue take alway my selfe. Neuer
 commyt your honours to the myshappes of fortune: noz
 neuer offre your selfe to peryll with hope of remedy. For
 suspicious fortune kepeth alwayes her gates wyde open
 for peril, and her walles ben high, & her wyckettes narrow
 to finde any remedy. And bicause I fele my selfe soze tra-
 uayled, I pray you suffre me to rest a lyttell.

How

Howe the emperour at the houre of his dethe, sent
foz his sonne, and declared to him, who shuld
gouerne the Empire. Cap. xliiii.



Hus a great parte of the night passed, and the
day began to bzeake, and the life of this good
emperour began fast to drawe to an ende: yet
foz all that he left not the remēbrance of suche
thinges as shulde be oꝝdered after his deathe.

There were that time in the warre with him diuers right
excellent men senatours of Rome: and in al thinges he she
wed him self right wise, & specially he wold neuer haue a-
ny vicious personē in his howse. He had euer in his com-
pany. i. gentylnen knightes, & in eche of them he might
haue put trust to gouerne Rome. Oftentymes this good
emperour wolde say, that princis lyued moze surely with
the gadꝝyng to them men of good lyuynge & conuersation,
thā with trespure of money stuffed in their chestes. Unhap-
pye is þe prince, that esteemeth hym selfe happy to haue his
coffres ful of trespure, and his counsell ful of men of pl ly-
uynge. These malicious and yll men make princis pooze:
and a perfyte man suffiseth to make a holle realme ryche.

Surely this emperour sayd well. For we do se daily, that
what the father hath gotten in fiftye yeres, the son leseth
in halfe a yere. Than chusinge among many a fewe, and
of fewe to take the best, this emperour appoynted out. vi.
notable barons: Thre of the to be maisters of his son, & o-
ther. iiii. to be gouernours of the empire. One was Partinar,
whiche after was emperour: an other was called Pompe-
iano, husbād to his doughter, as sure in coucel as he was
aged in yeres: The. iiii. Gneo Patrocle of the anciēt stock
of the Pompeies, whiche was no lesse clene in his lyuing
than his heres were white: The. iiii. was called Andrisco
Z. ii, whiche

which in goodlynes of his gesture, highnes of body, vertue of courage, and wysedome in conscience, none was egalle to him in Rome: The. v. was named Bononius, whiche at that tyme was consule, and in the auncient lawes very experte: The last was called Iuan varius the good, and he was called the good, bycause that in. lx. yere neuer man sawe hym do any ylle woꝝkes, noꝝ harde hym speake an ydel woꝝde, noꝝ do any thinge but it was profitable to the common welthe. Though in case they were all egall in gouernynge: yet I say these laste thre were principall. foꝝ Iuan Varius particularly was left to be chief capitayne of the armye, and to hym was delyuered al the treasure, and the testament was put into his handes: and with soꝝe weping the emperour recommended to hym the pꝛince his sonne. Than whan the peine of his sicknes encreaced, and that he loked foꝝ the houre of his deth, he commaunded to awake his sonne Comodus, whiche without any care was faste as lepe, and whan he was brought into the pꝛesence of his father, it was greatte pitie to see the eien of the olde emperour soꝝe discoloured with weping, and the eies of the sonne almoste closed with slepinge: the sonne was wakynge with small thoughte, and the father coude not slepe foꝝ great thought and peyne. And whan he was in his pꝛesence, seinge the lyttell care that the son toke foꝝ the deth of his father, and considering the great desire of the father foꝝ the good lyfe of his sonne, it moued to pitie the hartes of all the great lordes that were there, no lesse to leaue the company of the good olde man, than the annoyance of the dealyng of the yonge pꝛince: Thā the emperour sayde to his sonne these woꝝdes.

What the emperour sayde to his sonne at the houre of his deth. Cap. xlv.

Unto



Vnto thy maysters & my gouernours I haue
 shewed howe they shal counsell the: and now
 my sonne at this houre I say to the, how they
 though they be but a fewe, & all for the alone
 shal gouerne: and it is not to be taken in smal
 estimation. The mooste easpest thinge in the worlde is to
 giue counsell to an other: and the mooste hardest and hiest
 thinge is a man to take it for hym selfe. There is none so
 simple a man but he may giue good coucell, though there
 be no nede. And there is none so wyse that wyl refuse cou-
 sell in tyme of necessitie. I se one thing that al take coun-
 selle for all, and at the laste take it for him selfe. Some I
 thinke accorpyng to my heuy fatalle destenies, and thyn
 yll customes, that one thinge shall not profite the, that is,
 if the lyttell goodnes that thou hast done was for feare of
 me in my lyfe, that thou wylte doo lesse whan thou haste
 forgotten my dethe. I do moze nowe for to satisfie my de-
 sire and the comon welthe, than for any hope that I haue
 of the amendement of thy lyfe. There is not a worse com-
 playnt, than that a man holdeth of him selfe. If thou my
 sonne be yll, Rome wyl complayne to the goddis, that they
 haue giuen the so yll inclinations. They wyl complayne
 of Faustine thy mother, that hath brought the vp so wan-
 tonly: and they wylle complayne on thy selfe, that thou
 dost not refrayne the from vices: and they shall not com-
 playne of thyn olde father that hath gyuen the so manye
 good councelles. I am in certayne, thou hast not so great
 dolour to see the ende of this nyghte, and the ende of my
 lyfe, as thou haste plesoure to se the day that thou shalt be
 emperour: and I haue no meruayle: for where as sensu-
 alitie reigneth, reason is put asyde. Dyuers thinges are
 beleued bycause they are knowen vncertainly. O how ma-
 ny thinges of trouthe ben there, that if they were knowen
 Z.iii. truly

fruely they shulde be leste. But we ben so doubtful in eue-
 ry thing, and go about our busyness so variably and in-
 constantly, that sometyme our spirites bzeake the pour-
 pose, and an other tyme they rydde vs not of trouble nor
 hyndzance. I say we be so swifte to do yll, that sometyme
 we lese by a carde of the most: and to do wel we be so dul,
 y we lese by a card of the leste: & at the last we do nothinge
 but lese. Sonne I wyll aduertise the by wordes, that I
 haue knowen in. lxi. yere by longe experience: and sythe
 thou arte my sonne and yonge, it is reason that thou be-
 leue hym that is thy old father. As we princes are regard
 of all men, and regarde al men, and are regarded of al o-
 ther, thys day thou doste enherite thempire of the worlde
 and the courte of Rome. I knowe well there be inowe in
 the court of princes, that know nothyng what is to make
 them selfe of worthynes, and to maynten them self amōg
 so many trūperies as are treated in the houses of princes.
 I lette the to wytte, that in the court is auncient parciali-
 ties, present discentions, fearefull vnderstondynges, euil-
 dent wytnesses, entrayles of serpentis, tongues of scoz-
 pions, many detractours, and fewe that seke peace, and
 where as al men shulde harken to the cōmon voyce, euery
 man sercheth his owne proufite. Euery manne sheweth a
 good pretence, and all are occupied in yll workes: In su-
 che wise, that some by auarice lese their good fame, and
 some prodigally spende and wast all their goodes. What
 shulde I saye moze? In the courte euery daye the lordes
 chaunge and alter the lawes, awake stryfes, and reyse
 noyses, abate noblenes, exalte the vnworthy, banyshe in-
 nocentis, and honour theues, loue flaterers, and dispraye
 seth theym the whiche be vertuous, embrace delites, and
 treade vertue vnder their fete: Wepe for theym that be
 ylle, and laughe to scozne them that be good: and final-
 ly they

ly they take all lyghtnes for their mother, and vertue for
 theyr stepmother. And my sonne I saye moze vnto the,
 The courte, the whiche thou shalte enheryte this daye, is
 nothinge but a shoppe with waares, and a howse of va-
 caboundes, wherin some selle byle and corrupt thynges,
 and other bye lyes, some haue credence, and somme haue
 renoume, some haue goodes, and some haue luyng, and
 al to gither is but losse of tyme: & that worst of al is, they
 wyll not beleue the poyson therof, tyl it be at their hartis,
 they are so folysh and sturdy. Rome hath verpe hie wal-
 les, and the vertues therof is very lowe: Rome vaunteth
 it selfe to be very stronge in nombze of inhabitantes, and
 afterwarde Rome shal wepe that there is moze people thā
 vertue, and vyces are not accompted. In a moneth a mā
 might reckon all the stones of the proude edifices, but in
 a. M. yeres he myght not compyse the malyses of his yll
 customes. I swere to the by the immortall goddis, that in
 thze yeres I repaired all that was decayed in Rome, and
 in thirty yere I coude not refourme one quarter therof to
 good luyng. Good sonne beleue me, the great cities ful
of good inhabitantes ought to be praysed, & not the great
edifyces. Our predecessours haue triumphed on straun-
 gers as weake and feble: and nowe they maye triumphe
 on vs also, as menne that be moze vanquysed with vy-
 ces than any of the other. By the mightines and prowel-
 ses of our predecessours, we that be nowe are greattely
 honoured and exalted, and by the small estimation of vs
 that be now, they that come after vs may be greatly asha-
 med. Of a very trouth it is a great shame to saye, and no
 lesse infamie to doo, that the goodnes and trauayle of the
 auncientes shuld nowe be turned and conuerted to folies
 and presumption. My son loke well on thy selfe, that the
 reyne of thy youthe, and libertie of the empire cause the
 not

not to committe vice. He is not called onely free, that is free bozne, but he that dyeth within the same. O how wel are the sclaues bozne, that after their deth are fre by their goodnes: & how many haue dyed sclaues by their noughtynes, that were bozne free? There is fredome where noblenes abydeth. The pꝛowes of thy persone shal giue the moze hardines and libertie than thauctozitie of thempire. It is a generall rule, that euery vertuous man of necessitie is to be holden hardye: and euery vicious man of necessitie is to be reputed a coward. Nowe boldly they be chastised that be not noted with any vice, & coldly they be chastised that deserue chastisement. Lette a pꝛince be in a certayn, that the loue of his people, and the libertie of his office, hath not wherewith to vpholde hym in armes spꝛed abꝛode on the erth, without the dyuers vertues assembled in his persone.

Certaynly Octavius Cesar subdewed mo nacions by the renoume of his vertues, than dydde Caius his vnclē with his army of many men. All the woꝛlde ioy of a vertuous pꝛince: & it semeth that all the woꝛld ryseth ageinst a vicious pꝛince. Vertue is a strong castel, and can neuer be wonne: it is a riuer where nedeth no rowing, a see that moueth not, a fire that quencheth not, a treasure that neuer hath ende, an army neuer ouercom, a burden that neuer werieth, a spy that euer retourneth, a spygne that neuer deceyueth, a playn waye that neuer fayleth: a sirope that healeth forthwith: and a renoume that neuer perysseth. O my sonne if thou knewest what thinge it is to be good, and what a man thou shuldest be if thou were vertuous, thou woldest doo seruice to the goddis, good renoume to thy selfe, pleasure to thy frendes, and engendꝛe loue of straungers, and finally all the woꝛlde shulde fere and loue the.

I remembre that in the booke of yeres, of the battaylle of Tarentyne, I founde that the renowned Pyrrhus kynge of the Epyrothiens bare in a ryng grauen these wordes: To a vertuous man is but a smal rewarde to be lord of all the erthe: and it is but a small chastisement to take a vicious mans lyfe fro him.

Truely it was a worthy sentence of suche a prince. What thinge is it, be it neuer so difficile, begonne by a vertuous man, but there is hope to haue a good ende therof. Sothly I haue sene in dyuers parties of myn empyre dyuers men very derke of good fame, very lowe in goodes, and vnknown of their kynne and bloud: vndertake so great thynges, that to my semynge was a fearefull audacitie to begynne: And yet by the wynges of vertue all onely they haue had good renoume at the last. By the immortal goddis, and as god Jupiter bringe me into his mancion, and stablyshe the in all that is myne, There were ones a gardynner and a potter whiche dwelled in Rome, And they onely by their vertues were cause to putte oute tenne vicious senatours of the senate: and the first occasyon was for makynge a hedge of thorne, and a potte whiche they wolde not paye them for the workemanshype and labour. I tell it the my sonne, bycause that vice maketh the bolde persone thoughtfull: and vertue causeth hym that is in thought to take strength and boldenes. I was well ware of two thinges in my lyfe: not to pleade ageinst the clerenes of iustice, nor to take part ageinst a vertuous person: For with vertue god susteyneth vs, and with Iustice the people are gouerned.

Of other more perticular councelles gyuen by the emperour to his sonne. Cap. xlvj.

A. a. Rowe



Owe to come to thinges moze perticular. Se-
 inge sonne that thou arte yonge, and that na-
 ture can not denye the: And as, in all difficyle
 thinges ripe counsell is necessarie, no lesse to
 comfort the state of our lyuing we desire some
 recreations. For thy youth I leue þ with gret lordes chil-
 dren, with whom thou mayst passe the tyme. And to teche
 the I leue olde Romaines that haue nourished the, and ser-
 ued me, of whom thou shalte take counsell. The inuention
 of interludes of theatres, to fysh in pōdes, to hunt wyld
 beastis, to course in the felde, to hauke for birdes, and to
 exercyse dedes of armes are the thynges that thy youthe
 desireth. And youth with youth ought to kepe companie
 in doinge the same: But beholde my son, that in ordering
 of armies, to applie the warres, to pursue victories, to ac-
 cept truce, to confirme peace, to reyse tributis, to make la-
 wes, to promote some, and disynisse other, to chastyse the
 pl, and recompence the good: for counsell in all these thin-
 ges that be so chargeable, they that be of clere mynde, re-
 dy broken and trauayled of their bodies, and whiche hered
 ought to be take. And sith thou art yōge & lusty of body, re-
 ioyce & sport with them that be yonge: and whā thou arte
 emperour, in thy secretes take cōcell of them that be old.
 Beware my sonne of all extremities. For as yll maye the
 prince be vnder the colour of grauntie to be ruled by the
 auncient persons, as vnder colour of pastyme to kepe cō-
 panie with yonge folkes. It is no generall rule that all
 yonge persons shall always be yonge and lyght, nor that
 all olde persons shulde be always wise. I am in suertie of
 one thinge, that if the yonge man be borne with foly, the
 olde man lyueth & dieth with couetise. Therfore my sonne
 beware, be not extreme in extremities. For the yong peo-
 ple wyl corrupt the with their lyghtnes, and olde folkes
 wylle

wyll depꝛue thy mynde with their couetousnes. What thing can be moze monstꝛous than a pꝛince that cōmandeth euery man, to be commaunded of one. Sothely the gouernynge of diuers can not be gouerned well by the opinion of one alone, thā the pꝛince that gouerneth many, oughte to haue the intention and opinion of dyuers.

In the annales of the Pompeyens, I founde a lyttell boke of remembꝛance, the which the great Pompeie bare alway with hym: wherin were diuers good counsels and aduertisementis, the whiche were giuen in diuers partis of the worlde: Amonge the whiche I founde these wordes: He that gouerneth the common welthe, and putteth the gouernance to them that are old, sheweth hym self vnable: and he that trusteth in youth is lyghte: and he that gouerneth by him selfe alone, is hardy and bolde: and he that gouerneth by him selfe and other is wise. These were notable wordes. Than my sonne determyne the to take counsaile, and specially in hyghe thynges, and difficyle matters, and otherwyse lette theym not be determyned. For whan the counsaile is of dyuers taken, than if any faute be, it shall be deuided amonge them al. Though the determination myght be done by a fewe, yet take counsell of dyuers. Among all thy welthes, here the cōmon counsell. For one wyll shewe the al the inconuenience, an nother the perylle, an other the domage, an other the pꝛoufytte, and an nother the remedye. And sette as well thyne eyes vppon the inconuenyentes that they laye, as vpon the remedye that they offre. Whan thou begynnest any harde mattier, esteeme as welle the smalle domages that maye befall afoze and stoppe them, as to remedye the great mysfortunes that come after. Of trouthe the stronge and myghtye shyppe ofte tymes for a smalle takynge hede of the pylotte, is sounken and dꝛowned in a lyttelle water:

Ala, ii. and

and an other shyppe not so stronge, with wise diligence is saued in the gulse of the see. Be not annoyed to take coun- cel in smal matters euery houre. For many thinges forth- with requireth to be looked to, and in abydinge for counsel it endomageth. And that thou canste dispatche by thynne owne auctoritie without domage of the comon welth, put it not to any other person. For sith thy seruice all only de- pendeth of thyn, the reward dependeth of the alone.

In the yere. vi. C. xxx. of the foundation of Rome, af- ter the cruell warres done ageinst the kinge of Numedie, the day that Marius triumphed, without puttyng of any of the riches that he brought, into the comon treasure, he deuoyded it to his men of warre. And whan he was ther- fore accused, and asked why he toke not firste the opinion of the senate: He aunswered and sayde: Sythe they toke not the opinion of other to do me seruice, it were no reson that I shoulde take counsell of other to rewarde and re- compence them.

Son yet I wyll aduertise y of other thynges. Verad- uenture som wyll gyue the counsell er thou demande it: & in that case kepe this generall rule: neuer abide the secōde counsell of a man, if he haue giuen the counsell before in the p̄iudice of an other. For he offreth his wordes in thy seruice to brynge the besynes to his owne proulyte. O my sonne, there are many thynges to knowe a man. Evi. yere I haue ben senatour, consule, censure, capitayne, and tri- bune: and. xviij. yere I haue ben emperour of Rome, and diuers haue spoken to me in p̄iudice of other, and many mo for their owne profite, and none haue spoken clerely to me for the profite of other, nor for my seruice. Great com- passion ought to be taken of princis: for euerye man folo- weth them for their owne profitte, & none for loue and ser- uice. One counsell I toke for my selfe all the whyle that I haue

I haue gouerned in Rome: I neuer kepte manne in my hous after that I knewe hym hatefull agaynste the common welthe.

In the yere of the foundation of Rome. vi. C. lix. of the Olympiade. C. lxxvii. Lucullus Patricius, greate frende to Sylla, goynge to the warre of Metridates, It chanced that in Cygano a citie of Caldiens, he found a plate of copper or brasse vpon the kynges gatis, wherein were certayne letters, whiche they sayd were grauen there by the commandement of Alexander the great. The letters were in Caldee, conteynnyng these sentences. That prince is not wyse, that wyl holde his lyfe in peryll: and wyl not assure his lyfe and state with the loue of al mē: That prince is not vertuous, that in giuing moche to one person, willethe all other to haue but lyttell: That prince is not iuste, that wyl satisfie moze the couetise of one persone, thā to the vices of all men: That prince is a fole, that dispiseth the counsell of all other, and all onely trusteth vpon the opinion of one: And finally the prince is to bold and hardy, that for the loue of one, wyl be hated of al other. These were wordes of eternall memozy. And in dede these princes shulde haue this alway in theyr ptesence. Sonne yet I shal say moze to the. This Lucullus Patrici⁹ brought into the Senate all the treasure that he hadde, and this plate with the sayde wordis theron, to thentent that they shoulde chuse the one and leaue the other. And the senate refused all the treasour, and toke the plate with the counsellles wzytten theron.

wo.

Of dyuers and particular recommendations
whiche the emperour commaunded his
sonne. Cap. xlvii.

Ala.iii.

I haue



Haue shewed lyke a father, the thyng that toucheth thy welth: Nowe I wyl shewe the what thou oughtest to do after my dethe for my seruice. Those thynges that I haue loued in my lyfe, if thou wilt be sonne to thy father, esteeme them after my dethe. Firste my sonne I recomende to the, the worschyppe of the temples, and the reuerence of the priestes, with the honour to the goddis. So longe shall the honour of the Romayns laste, as they perceuer in the seruice of the goddis. The realme of the Carthagenens perished not bicause they were not so riche or moze cowardes than the Romayns: but bycause they loued their tresors to moche, & were but yll worschypers and louers of the temples. My sonne I recommend to the Helia thy stepmother, & remembre that though she be not thyn owne mother, yet she is my wyfe: and on the peyne of my cursyng suffre not that she be yll intreted. For the domage that she shuld suffre by thy cōsent, shuld gyue euidence of the smal thought that thou takest of my deth, which shulde be an iniury to thy life. I haue left to her the tributes and reuenues of Hostie, for to maynteine her degre: and the gardens of Vulcan, which I caused to make for her recreatiō. And if thou take it fro her, thou shewest thyn ylnesse. And to suffre her to enioye it, I commaunde the by thyn obedience, and to shewe her thy bountie and largesse. Remembre she is a Romain, yong, and a widow, of the hous of my lorde Traian, and how she is thy mother adoptife, & my natural wyfe, wherfore I leue her vnder thy recōmendation. Also I cōmyt to the thy bzyetherne in law: & thy sisters my doughters I leue them al married, not with strāge kinges, but with the natural inhabitātis and cītesins of Rome. They dwell al within the walles of Rome, where as they may do the seruice, and thou mayst do them

do the good. Son intrete them in suche wise, that though their good father be dead, yet let them haue fauour. And though thei se their brother emperour of Rome, yet let the not be defouled. Wome be of a right tender condicion, they wylle complayne for a smalle cause, and for lesse they wylle rise vp in pride. Thou oughtest to conserue them after my dethe, as I haue done in my life. For otherwise their conuersation shulde be fekyll to the people, and importunate to the. Also I comit to the Lipula thy sister, that is amōge the virgins Vestales, Thinke that she is daughter of thy mother Iustin, whiche I haue greatly loued in my life, & vnto the houre of my deth I haue lameted hers. Euery yere I gaue to thy sister. ii. M. sexters for her necessities: she had ben as well maryed as the other, if she had not be bzent in the visage: whiche was esteemed of euery man an yladuenture, and specially of her mother that wept alway for her. But I esteeme that ylle aduenture a good fortune. For if she had not ben bzent in the face with fire, she had in the worlde as touching her renoume be bzent with diuers tonges. Son I sweare to the, that for the seruice of y goddis, & the fame of men, she is more surer with the virgins in the temple, than though she were in the senate with the senatours. I deme that at the ende of the iourney she shal finde her selfe better at ease closed and locked in, thā thou with all thy libertie. In the prouince of Lucany, I haue lefte for her the. ii. M. sexters: I wylle not that thou take them fro her. Also I comytte Drusia the wydowe to the, which hath layd a gret proces against the senate, bicause y by motiōs afore passed her hus bād was banished: I haue great compassion of her: for it is thre monethes sicke she put in her demaunde: and bycause of my great warres I coude not declare her iustyce. Sonne thou shalt fynde hit trewe, that in. xxxv. yere, that I haue gouerned Rome,
there

there was neuer widowe that helde her p[ro]cesse before me
 passynge. viii. dayes. Take compassion of such. For wo-
 mens necessities are righte peryllous: and at the laste yf
 their besines be longe in hande, they recouer not so moche
 of their goodes, as they lese in their renowme. Also haue
 compassyon of pooze men, and the goddis shall rewarde
 the with great ryches. Also I comynpte to the my aunci-
 ent seruantes, to whom my longe yeres and cruel warres
 my often necessities, the displeasure of my body, and my
 longe syckenes hath ben ryghte paynfulle. For they as
 true seruantes to gyue me lyfe haue taken peyne vnto the
 deth. It is reason that syth I haue taken their deth, that
 they enherite parte of my lyfe. One thing I holde for cer-
 tayne, In case that my bodye abyde in the sepulchre with
 wormes, yet I shall alwayes before the goddis haue re-
 memb[er]aunce of them, In this doinge thou shalt do as a
 good childe, to satisfie them that haue serued thy father.
 Take hede my son, euery p[ri]nce doing Justice acquireth
 ennemies in the execution therof. And this is done by thē
 that are mooste nere to hym. For the more p[ri]uie they are
with the p[ri]nce, the more hatefull they are to the people.
And though euery mā loueth Justice in generall, yet they
all hate the execution therof in particular. Whan a iuste
 p[ri]nce is deade, the people take vengeance of the vniuste
 seruantis. Whan thou were a chylde, my seruantis noy-
 shed the, to the entent that thou shuldest susteyne them in
 their age. Surely it were great shame to the empire, and
 offence to the goddis, an iniurie to me, and an vngentyl-
 nes of the, that thou haste founde them. xviii. yeres with
 their armes abrode to halfe the, that they shuld finde one
 day thy gates shet against thē. These thiges I comyt to p[ar]-
 ticularly, kepe them alway in memorie. And sithe y I re-
 memb[er]e thē at my deth, consyder how I loued thē in my life.

Of the laste wordis that the emperour spake to his sonne, & of a table that he gaue hym. Ca. xlviij.



Whan the emperour had ended his sayde reco-
mmendations, the day began to springe, and
his eie stringes began to breke, and his tonge
faultred, and his handes shoke. Thā the sayd
happy emperour, felynge that weakenes be-
gan soze to drawe about his herte, he commanded Vanu-
tius to go into his study, and to bring to him a coffre that
was there. And whan it was broughte to his p̄sence, he
opened hit, and toke oute a table of thre fote broode, and
two fote longe, it was of wood Lybanus, & rounde about
garnyshe with vnicozne. It was closed with two leaues
subtillly wrought of a reed wood, that some sayd was of y
tree that the Phenix bredeth in: and is callid Rasyn. And
as there is but one byrde Phenix breedinge in Arabye: so
lykewise there is no moo trees in the worlde of the same
kynde. On one of the outwarde parties of the table was
pyctured and grauen the god Iuppyter, on the other the
goddesse Venus: In the inward parties of the table that
shette, was pictured god Mars and the goddesse Ceres:
In the principall of the sayd table was pictured a Bulle
subtillly wroughte to the quicke, and vnder that a kynge
was pyctured. The whiche payntures were sayd to be of
the handy warke of the expert Appelles an ancient worke
man in payntinge. Than the emperour toke the table in
his hande, and with great peyne, he sayd: Thou seest my
sonne Comodus, howe I am all redy scaped fro the trap-
pes of fortune, and am enterynge into the heuie aduen-
tures of dethe. I wote not why the goddis haue created
vs, sith there is so great annoyance in our lyfe, & so great
peryle at our deathe. I vnderstande not why the goddis
Bb. haue

haue and bſe ſo great crueltie to the creatures. **Xxiij.** yere
 I haue ſayled with great trauayle through the great pe-
 rilles of this lyfe: and at this houre I am commaunded
 to take lande and diſcharge me of my fleſſhe, and to take
 erthe in the ſepulchre. Nowe vntyeth the lyuely thredes,
 nowe vndothe the ſpyndell, nowe tyueth the webbe, nowe
 endeth my lyfe. Nowe am I awaked frome the ſlepyng
 euyl: Remembryng howe I haue paſſed my lyfe, I haue
 no moze deſire to lyue. And in that I knowe not whiche
 way to go, I reſuſe dethe. What ſhall I do? I am deter-
 myned to put me into the handis of the goddis wylling-
 lye, ſythe I muſt do ſo of neceſſite. Whome I require, if
 they haue created me for any goodnes, not to depriue me
 fro them for my demerites. I am nowe in the laſte gate:
 and to this houre I haue kepte the greattelt and moſt ex-
 cellent iewel that I coude fynde in all my lyfe. In the .x.
 yere of myn empire there aroſe a warre agaynſt the Bar-
 thes: wherfore I determyned in myne owne perſone to
 gyue them batayle. After that warre I came by the aun-
 cient citie of Thebes for to ſe ſome antiquitie: among the
 whiche in a priettes houſe I founde this table, the whiche
 as a kynge was reſyded in Egypte, incontynent it was e-
 uer hanged at his beddis heed, and this priett ſhewed me,
 that it was made by a kyng in Egypte named Ptholomee
 Arſacides, that was a vertuous prince. And in the memo-
 rie of hym, and example of other, the priettis kept it dili-
 gently. And ſonne I haue kepte it alway with me: and I
 beſeeche the goddis, that ſuche may be thy werkes, as ther-
 in thou mayſte fynde good counsell. As emperor I leue
 the heyre of manye countreyes and realmes: and as thy
 father I do gyue vnto the this table of counſaylles. Let
 this be the laſte worde, that with the Emppre thou ſhalte
 be feared, and by this table thou ſhalte be beloued.

This

This sayde, and the table delyuered to his sonne, the emperour tourned his eyen : & within a quarter of an houre he yelded the spirite.

Nowe to retourne to the sayde table & wrytyng. There was wrytten betwene the bulle and the kynge a scrowe in Greke letters, in maner of heroicall verses, conteynyng in our bulgar tongue thus : I neuer chose ryche tyrant, noꝝ abhoꝝred the pooꝝe iuste man : I neuer denied iustice to a pooꝝe manne foꝝ his pouertie, noꝝ pardoned a ryche man foꝝ his greate goodes and rychesse : I neuer dydde, good dedes, noꝝ neuer gaue hyꝛe foꝝ affection, noꝝ gaue coꝛrection onely foꝝ the peyne. I neuer lefte ylnesse vnchastyled, noꝝ goodnesse without rewarde. I neuer comytted an nother to do iustyce that was clere, noꝝ darke iustyce I neuer determyned by my selfe alone. I dydde neuer denye iustyce to theym that demaunded it, noꝝ merce vnto hym that deserued it : I neuer dyd coꝛrection foꝝ angre, noꝝ promysed any rewarde in my myꝛthe : I was neuer charged with thoughtes in my prosperitie, noꝝ dyspayꝛed in myn aduersitie : I neuer committed yll by mallice, noꝝ any villanye foꝝ auaryce : I neuer opened my gates to flatterars noꝝ dissemblers, noꝝ lystned myne eares to murmurers : I haue laboured alwayes to be loued of theym that be good, and to be dꝛedde and fered of them that be ylle : And fynally I haue fauoured the pooꝝe, that myghte do but lyttell, and haue ben fauoured of the goddes that may do moche.

Hytherto is shewed bꝛefely the woꝛthye and laudable lyfe of the emperour Marc^s

Aurelius, and of his deathe.

And here after ensueth the seconde parte of this boke.

Bb.ii.

A letter

A letter sent by Marcus Aurelius to Pyramon
his speciall frende. Capitu. xlix.

The firste letter.



Arke oratour Romain, bozne at mounte
Celio to Pyramon of Lyon, my greate
frende, desirynge salutation to thy per-
son, and strēgth and vertue ageinst thy
sinister fortune. In the thirde kalendes
of Januarie I receyued thy letter, wher
by I perceyue thou hast receyued one of
myn, I set smal stoz by thy wordes, but I este-
me greatly what thou meanest by them. So that without declaryng
therof, I haue gadzed the sentence. Reason wold bycause
I haue wryten so often to the, that thou shuldest the better
vnderstande me: but thou arte so slouthfull, that though
I call the, thou wylte not here: nor though I stryke the,
thou wylte not feelee. Nowe vnto comine to the pourpose,
thou knowest welle Pyramon howe nere we be in paren-
tage, aunciente in frendeshyppe, stedfaste in loue, and
tender of hartis: and whan so euer thou puttest in expe-
rience, that one true frende shulde proue an other. Thou
remembrest wel whan we were at Rhodes, that we dwelled
to gyther in one house, and dyd eate at one table, and all
that thou thoughtest I dyd it in effecte: and that I sayd,
thou neuer gaynsaydest. Certaynly thou were in my hart,
and I in thyn entayles: I was thyn, & thou were myne.
We beinge to gither, hit semed to all other, that we were
but one, and of one wyll. What is it my frende Pyramon,
Thou wrytest, how thou arte heuy, and yet thou doest not
shewe the cause why: thou complaynest & thou art almost
deed, and thou shewest me not who taketh thy life fro the.
If thou wylt not shewe to me thyn yll destenies, sith thou
arte

arte my frende, I wyl thou knowe, that I demaunde it of right, if thou wylte not, I wyl that thou know, that þ pitiefull goddis haue determyned, that all pleasures and profyte shall departe fro my house: and that all heuyness and damages shall be registryed in my persone. Sythe I am prince of all honour, beinge in tribulation, yf thou woldest, thou canste not scape out of my seignourie. For if thou complayne, that thou arte vnhappy in fortune, thā I esteeme my selfe to be happy in vnhappynesse. I demāde one thyng of the. Whan haste thou sene me haue sufficent, and thou nede? Whan haste thou sene me slepe, and thou wake? and whan hast thou trauayled and I rested? Of trouth sith the goodes and persones are theyr owne propre, the trauayles and yladuentures are alwayes common. One thyng thou oughtest to knowe, if in myne amittie thou wylte perceuer, that all my goodes are thyne, and all thyn euylles are myn, syth thou arte bozne to lyue easly, and to be gentilly ordred and entreated, and I do lyue for to trauayle. I saye not this faynyngely: for thou haste hadde experience of me, that whan I amaria thy syster dyed, that was no lesse vertuous than sayre, thou sawest wel whan she was buried deed, I was buried quick: and at the sowne of my teares thyn eies daunced. Sithe thou holdest suche suretie of my person, surely thou maist discouer to me thy peyne. Yet as often as I haue demanded it, there hath not fayned reasons fayled in the. I requyre the, and desyre the agayne, and in the name of the goddis I pray the, and in their names I coniure the, that thou dispose all thy sorowes into myn entrayles. For the waye that thou goest I wyl not leaue one pace to go fro the same: if thou go, I wyl go, if thou rest, I wyl rest: yf thou worke, I wyl worke: if thou leaue of, I wyl do the same: if thou wylt dye, thou knowest well, I wyl not

lyue. Regarde frende what thou wylt do. For thyn euyls and myn, tourment bothe one harte. If thou haue displeasure, al thynges displease me: if thou wepe, I sweare fro hensforth neuer to laughe: if thou discharge the of thy payne, fro hens forth, I shall take it for myne: if thou go alone, I wyl forsake company, and forthwith lyue solytarily. What wylte thou that I shulde desire? For al that euer thou wylte I wyl. Thou complaynest, that in al thy trauayles thou canst fynde no parent to remedye the, nor frende to counsell the. I sweare to the my frende Pyramō, that of these two thynges I haue as moche pouertie in my hous as thou haste sorowe in thyn. I knowe well the remedy shulde come by ryches, & by counsell, and consolation of theym that be wise. And by reason of my heuy destenies, slouth hath takē fro me the knowlege of wisdom: and fortune wyl not permytte me to haue great rychesse. Certaynely I wepe for thy myserie, and yet there is but smalle remedye in me. Thou sayest in thy letter, that thy neighbours and frendes in promisyng, haue behight the many thynges: but in gyyng they do nothyng. Hereof I meruaylle: for the vertuous hande is not bounde to make the tonge a sole. Truly though our fete daunce, our handes shulde werke at the sowne of the tongue: our lyfe endeth in fewe days, and our renoume in fewer. Promys is an auncient custome among the sonnes of vanitie, and of custome the tonge speketh hastily, & the handes worke at leysure. Nowe let vs speke moze particularly.

Thou oughtest not to complayne, in that thou fyndest not but in a fewe, that dyuers haue founde in the alone. Custome is to receyue forthewith and merrily, and to giue flowely with ylle wylle and repentaunce. They that be presumptuous do the one, and they whiche be slouthfull doo the other. The Grekes saye: that he that promyseth
and is

and is longe in fulfyllynge, is but a slacke frēde. We Ro-
 mayns say, that he is moch better that denieth forthwith,
 bycause he wyl not begyle him that asketh. In this case
 I say : He that may gyue and gyueth not, is a clere enne-
mie : and he that promiseth forthwith, and is longe or he
 do it, is but a suspicious frēde. What nede wordes to our
 frēdes, whā we may succour them with woꝝkes? Is it not
 right, to whom we giue our hartis, y which is y best thing
 within vs, that we giue him our tonge, that is the worst
 thyng of all our vices? In good sothe the goddis wylle
not suffre in the place of amitie, to desire any thyng of our
frende in haste, that he dyue it of with longe delayinge,
 Plato in his lawes sayth : We cōmande, that in our go-
 uernynge that politicke counsaile be gyuen to them, that
 be in prosperitie, to thentent that they decay not : & to suc-
 cour them that be in heupnes and trouble, to thētent that
 they dispaire not. Certaynly vnder these woꝝdes are com-
 prised dyuers great sentēces. Thou knowest wel my frend
 Dīramō, that swete woꝝdes comfort the hart but litel that
is in tribulation, but if there be somme good woꝝkes ther-
with, I wyl not denie, but that they to whom we haue gi-
 uen oure good wylles in the tyme of our prosperytie, be
 bounde to gyue vs of their goodes, & to shewe vs fauour
 in our aduersite. I demaude one thinge of the : Wherfoze
 holdest thou it a presumptuous lycence to demaunde? And
 reprouest on the other part the libertie of denieng. Truly
 as there is shame in the demādinge, there is obligation in
 some thing to deny : an importunate mā is not worthy to
haue mercy, Thou maiste knowe, if thou know it not my
 frēd Dīramō, that to attain to euery thing y is demāded,
 belongeth only to the goodis. To giue euery thing y is de-
 māded is no signe of any seruāt. And to deny any thing is
 of liberte. To wepe for y is denied is the cōditiō of tirātis:
 And

And to conne no thanke for that is gyuen, is the conditi-
 on of the Barbariens: and to haue euer a stedfaste hope
 of that is denyed, is the gysle of the Romaynes. One of
 these thinges, wherin Gayus Cesar shewed him selfe to
 be of hygh courage was, that he had mooste greatestt ioye
 whan the senate refused any thynge desired by hym. Of-
 tentymes he sayde: There is nothynge wherin Rome gi-
 uethe me moze glozpe and renouine to my persone, than
 whan I shewe my selfe mooste hasty to demaunde, & they
 mooste styffe to denye me: to thentent that after they shuld
 knowe what is my power to abyde, and howe lyttel theyr
 strenght is to resist. He thinke it is better to haue recourse
 to the goddis with vertues, than to displease them with
 quarelles. And to gyue contentation to thy reposed wyll,
 whan thou seest thy selfe in tribulation, and that thou de-
 maundest of the goddis and of men to be frustrate, thou
 oughtest to measure it with a right measure, and to peyse
 it in a right balaunce, the greate quantitie that hath bene
 giuen to the, and the lyttell quantitie that hath be graun-
 ted the. O howe vncourteyse be we to the goddis, and of
 smalle remembraunce to men, whan we mynishe with for-
 getfulnes, that we haue receyued of them: and that lytel
 that hath ben refused vs, we augment it with complayn-
 tes. Frende Pyramon, I am begyled if thou be not fyfty
 yeres of age, and all that season thou haste done nothynge
 but receyued gyftes: and yet for all that I haue nat sene
 the do one day of seruice. Certaynly it is no reson to com-
 playne of. viii. dayes of yll fortune, beinge fiftie yeres of
 age. Thou sayst in thy letter, howe thou haste moch peyn,
 bycause thou knowest all thy neighbours to be enuious.
 By good soth I haue peyne for thy peyne, and of thy mer-
 uaylyng I haue great meruayle. For al admiration pro-
 cedeth but by surmountynge of ignorance, and faulte of
 experi-

experience/Doth the quicke vnderstandyng of men rule the lyfe of the that be mortal, that they nede not to thinke of the trauayle to come, hauyng in their handes hasty remedy: If they be hungrye, they may eate, whan they are colde, they may warme theym: if they be slepy, they may slepe: whan they be wery, they may rest: Whan they are sycke, they may be healed: whan they are heuy, they maye reioyce, in suche maner, that the thoughtfull lyfe passeth, some to make tyltes and lystes, some to make armure and scaffoldes, some to inuent newe gynnes, and some to repayre bulwarkes. I say the world & the fleshe do nought els but fyghte ageynste vs, and we haue nede at all times to defende vs fro them. All these remedies are against the trauayle of the fleshe. But what shall we do, that the cursednes of enuy extende not amonge all these? Cursed is that welthe, that euery man enuieth. Certainly ageynste enuy no fortresse can defend, no caue to hide, no hye hill to mount on, no thycke wodde to shadowe in, no shyppe to scape in, no hors to beare away, no money to redeme vs. Enuy is so venymous a serpent, that there was neuer mortall man amonge mortalles, that coude scape fro the bytyng of her tothe, and scratchyng of her nayles, folyng of her fete, and poysonyng of her poyson. I swere to the my frend Pyramon, that such as fortune lyfteth vp with great ryches, she full of crueltie gyueth theym profounde bytynges. Enuie is so enuious, that to them, that of her are mooste denied, and sette fardest of, she gyueth mooste cruell strokes with her fete. This vnhappye enuye preparieth poyson secretely for them that be in rest amōge dyuers pleasures.

I haue redde dyuers bookes of Hebrewe, Greke, Latyn, and Caldee: And also I haue spoken with many very wise men, to se if there might be foude any remedy against

Cc.

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an enuious man. I confesse the trouth: Kede all that can be redde, and imagine all that can be, demaunde all that can be demaunded, and ye shall fynde none other cure against this cursed enuie, but to banyshe vs fro all prosperitie, and to syt with aduerse fortune. O howe vnhappy are they that be in prosperitie: for iustly they that be sette vp in hygh estates, can not flee fro the perylle of Scilla without fallynge into Charibdis. They can not scape the peryl, without castyng their treasours into the see. I saye that the malady of enuie wyl not suffre them to scape fro dethe: and the medicine that is applied to them, wyl not assure their lyfe. I can not determyne me, whiche is the beste, (or to say more properly the worst) extreme myserie without the danger of fortune, or extreme prosperite, that is alwayes thretned to falle. In this case to be so extreme I wyl not determin me, sith in the one is a perillous lyfe, and in the other renoume is sure.

I shall tell the, what wise Cicero sayde, whan he was pursued with many at Rome: Beholde ye Romaynes, I holde you not for so good, nor my selfe so ylle to saye the trouth always, nor always to make lyes. I am certain, that ye bere me none enuie, for that I am not as ye be, but it is bicause ye can not be as I am: In this case I had rather that myn enemies had enuy at my prosperitie, than my frendes at my pouertie.

This oratour spake after the appetite of them that be in prosperitie, leuyng to gyue remedy to them that be sorrowful. And after this Cicero had sene the feltes of Farsalpe, he toke other councell and remedy, suche as pleased hym in Rome. For if Cesar had granted him his goodis, yet he turned not his credence and renoume. Surely frend Pyramo I wote no remedy to gyue the against enuy, sith thou seest al the world ful therof. we se how we be the sons
of

of enuie, and we liue with enuie, & die with enuy: & he that leueth most riches, leueth the gretest enuie. The auncient wise men couceled rich men, that they shuld not haue poze folkes nere them: & they admonished the pooze, that they shulde not dwell nere to the ryche. And trewely it is good reason. ffor richesse of ryche men is the sede of enuie to þe pooze. And that ffor the pooze lacketh, and the riche hathe to moche, causeth disoord amōge the people. I swere by þe goddis immortal frend Piramon, though they that be yll wold þe I shulde swere falliely, as moch as riches without thought nozisheth couetise, so moch the enuious nozisheth enuy therby. I counsaile the one thing, & that is, that it is no good counsell to flee enuie, and to auoide the vertu contrarye to the same. Homer saithe, þe in his tyme there were two Grekes extreme in all extremities: The one was extreme in riches, & therfore he was persecuted by enuie, & þe was Achilles: & the other was soze noted of malice, but no man had enuie at him, and that was Thiestes. Certainly I had leuer be Achilles with his enuy, thā Thiestes without it. Thou knowest well, that we Romaynes serche not but ffor reste in our lyfe, and ffor honour after dethe. And sithe it is so, it is not possible but the man that every man enuieth his renoume ought to be exalted in the rest of his lyfe. And sithe I see these two thynges in the, suche as be thy frendes taketh lytell thought, ffor that thyn ennemies murmure agaynst the. Thou wyrttest to me, howe they of Lyons do well, and are merye, excepte thy selfe, that arte heuy, and full of pensyuenes. And sith they shewe not to haue pleasnre at thy displeasure, shewe not thy selfe displeased with their pleasure. ffor it may chaunce one daye they shall be sorowfulle, whan thou arte merye: Channe thou shalte be quite with theym. In an ylle persone there can be no greter euyl, noz in a good man a greater faute,

than to be displeased with an nother mans welthe, and to take pleasure at an other mans harme. And in case that all do vs damage with enuie, yet moche more a frend thā the enmie. For of myn enmie I wyl be ware, and for fere he wyl withdraue: but a frende with his amitie may begyle me, and I by my fidelitie shal not perceyue. Among all mortall ennemies there is none wors than a frend that is enuious of my felicitie. Pyramon my frende, I wylle conclude, if thou wylt withdraue thy selfe fro ennemies, than kepe company with thyn owne familiar frendes. I wote not what to wryte more to the, but with all my harte I lamente thy heuynesse. Thou knowest howe thy niece Brusia was slayn with a dagger by her owne hus bande, I had great compassion for her deth, and for the renoume that she lefte behynde her. Flavius Discus thyn vncke is newly made Censure. The processe betwene thy brother Forion and Britio is determyned by the senate: and hit pleaseth me righte welle, that they be frendes, and euerye man well content. The booke intytuled the consolation of heuynes I haue ended, and layd it in the Capitol. I haue wryten it in Greke, and that is the cause that I sent it not to the. But I do sende the a ryche swerde, and a fayre girdell. Faustyne my wyfe dothe salute the, and sendeth thy wyfe two sclaues. The goddis be my keepers, and comfort the in thy present heuynesse. Marke the man fortunate, to Pyramon soze discomforted.

A letter sent by Marcus the emperour to Cornelius of the trauayle of warre, and vanitie of triumph.

The seconde letter.

Marke



Arke emperor of Rome to the Corne-
lius my faythefull frende, salute to thy
persone, and good fortune to thy desy-
red lyfe. As thou in tymes passed haste
ben perteyner of my traueyles, I haue
sente to calle the to gyue the pleasure of
my triumphes. By the haboundance of

rychesse, diuersitie of captiues, fiersnes of capitayns that
we haue brought to Rome, thou mayst perceyue what pe-
rils we haue suffred in this warre. The Parthes ar good
men of warre: and as euery man findeth in their owne lōd
Defendeth their houses with stronge hert: and surely they
do lyke good men. For without reason we dye of affection
to take other mens goodes: and they with reson do laboz
to defende that is their owne. Lette no man take enuie at
the Romayn capitayn, for any triumph that is giuen him
by his mother Rome: For for one daye of honour, he is a
M. dayes in dispaire of his lyfe. I wyll not speake that
I myght say of them that be in warre, and dwel in Rome,
ben cruel iuges of their owne fame. And such that the pro-
pre renoume of a man lyeth in other folkes tongues, it is
not sayde bycause his persone hath meryted, but bycause
that they do shewe their enuie. But our foolyshenes is so
folyshe, and the reputation of men so bayne, that for one
bayne worde, more than for our profytte, we put our lyfe
in daunger, and lay our honour to guage with trauayle,
rather than to lyue, and to assure our renoume with reste.
I sweare by the goddis immortall, that the day of my tri-
umph being in the chariot, I was as pensiue as I myght
be. O Rome cursed be thy folyshe, & wo be to hym that hathe
brought vp in the so moche pryde. And cursed be he that
hath inuented so greatte pompe in the. What greater or
more vnegall lyghtnes can be, than that a Romayne ca-

pitayne, bicause he hath conquered realmes, altered pea-
 sibles, distroyed cities, caste downe fortresses, robbed the
 pooze, enryched tirantes, shedde moche bloode, and made
 infinite wydowes, shulde for recompence of all these do-
 mages be receyued with great triumph: where hast thou
 sene a greater folp? Infinite nobye is distroyed in warre,
 & one alone shal bere away the glozie therof. And though
 such miserable conquerours merited not to be buried, yet
 went I through the stretes of Rome. By the immortalle
 goddis (as a secreete betwene the and me, that whan the
 chariotte triumphalle came, and the unhappy prisoners
 charged with irons: and I remembre the infinite tre-
 sures yll gotten, and hearyng the lamentations of the wi-
 dowes sorowfully wepinge for the dethe of their husban-
 des, and the remembrance of our manyfolde frēdes deed.
 though I reioyced me openly, I wepte droppes of blood
 secretly. I can not tell what persone taketh pleasure in
 hym self of an other mans damage. In this case I praise
 not the Assyriens, nor I enuy not the Persians, nor am cō-
 tent with the Lacedemoniens, nor approue the Caldeens,
 nor content me with the Grekes: I curse the Troyans, &
 condempne them of Carthage, bycause they folowed not
 the zeale of Justice, but what they dyd in their tyme was
 with rage of pryde, wherby they and their realmes were
 broughte into sclaunder, and was occasion to lese vs. O
 cursed Rome, cursed thou hast ben, and cursed thou shalt
 be. For if the fatal destenies deceyue me not, & myn vnder-
 stondynge fayle me not, and that fortune holde not faste,
 we shall se in tyme to come, Rome shall be in lyke case as
 other realmes be now in our dayes. And where as now
 with tyranny thou arte lady ouer all seignouries, it shall
 com me by Justice, that thou shalt tourne to be bounde
 to theyn that are now vnder thy bondage. O ylle fortun-
 ate

nate Rome: I say it bycause that vertue is so dere in the,
and makest folye soo greatte cheape. Peradventure thou
arte moze autentike than Babylon, fayrer than Hely, ry-
cher than Carthage, stronger than Troy, better peopled
thanne Thebes, moze stozed with shyppes than Corinth,
moze delicious than Thyre, moze inerpugnable than A-
quilie, moze happy than Numance: we see howe they all
are perysshed, for all their vertues and valyāt defenders,
and thou hopest to abyde perpetually stozed with them y
be vicious, and peopled with suche as be full of vyce. O
Rome marke this for certayne, that the glozie that thou
haste at this houre was first theirs: and that distruction
that now is theirs, hereafter shal be thyn. My dere frēde
Cornelius, shall I shewe the, the losse of the Romaine
people, but I can not tell it the without wepyng? I the
emperour of Rome commaunde, I make decrees for the
warre (if any countrey aryse) by sownyng of a trom-
pette to make menne to reple theyr baners, and to create
newe Capytaynes: And hit is a thyng very euydent to
see, that whan they reple their standerdes, and haue leue
to make and assaylle ennemyes, chyltern leaue their mo-
thers, Studentes leaue theyr scholes, seruauntes forsake
theyr maysters, and offycers their offyces, to the entente
that vnder the colour and crafte of goinge to warre they
shoulde not be chastysed by Iustyce: They haue no feare
of the goddis, nor reuerence to the Temples, nor obedi-
ence to theyr fathers, nor loue nor awe of the people, and
loue to lyue ydelly, and hate iuste labour, and theyr exer-
cyses are damageable: Somme do robbe the churches,
somme make quarelles and stryues, and somme breake
gates open and beare the goodes awaye, sometyme they
take theym that be at libertie, and delyuer theym that
shulde be prysoners: They passe the nyghtes in playes,
and

and the days in blasphemies: Finally they are bufete to do wel: & are holly disposed to do y^el. What shal I say of their negligence: I am ashamed to write it. They leaue their owne wyues and take other mens, They dyshonour the daughters of honeste men, and begyle yonge maydens, They enforce their hostesses, and neyghbours wyues: and worste of all, the women that do go with theym, sette them agog that doo tarpe. And so in this maner none of these women that so go scapeth without losse of honour, and the other are stricken with vices in their hartis bicause they tarie. Thinke surely Cornelius, that the entrepryses are smalle, where as women doo go to warre. Thou knowest, that the women Amazones haue made greter warre in Grece, than the cruelle ennemies, and not for bycause they had not men ynowe, but bycause they were so many women. Pyrrhus was ouercome by Alexander, The valyant capitayne Hanniball was lord of Italy, as long as he suffred no women to come in his warres. And whan he was enamoured of a faire yonge damoyzell of Capue, he was fayne forthwith to turne his backe to Rome, bycause Rome clensted the feld fro lecherie. For the same cause Rumanicie was caste to the erthe. And I my selfe haue sene in the warre of the Parthes. xviij. M. horsemen. lxxx. M. fote men, and. xxxv. M. women. And our besynes wente so, that fro our hoste I sent away Faustine my wyfe, and so dyd other senatours their wyues home to their houses, to the entent that they shulde serue them that were olde, & bynge bp their chylderne. The daye that a Patrician is approued by the Senate, and ledde aboute Rome by the Consules, the egle is hanged at his brest, and his raymēt is reade, and he after ryseth in suche pryde, that he remembreth not the pouertie of the tyme passed, but thynkethe to be emperour of Rome forthwith. Beholde than what they

they do. They wyth their berdes, & ruffle their heres, boy-
stous their woꝝdis, they change their clothes, & roll their
eyen that they maye seeme the fiercer. And finallye they
loue to be feared, and hate to be loued. And wottest thou
not that they wyll be feared? On a day beinge at Penta-
polyn, a capitayne of myn, not seing me, yet I hard him
sweare and blaspheme, sayinge to a woman his hostesse:
ye villaynous people wyll not knowe the capitaynes of
warre: I wyll thou knowest mother that the erthe neuer
trembleth, but whan it is thꝛet of a capitayne Romaine:
and god neuer causeth the son to shyne but there as we be
obeyed. But nowe frende Cornelius sith I haue blasoned
his haunt, harken his vertue and woꝛthynes. I swere to
the, that the sayde capitayne foꝛ all his boꝛte, beinge in a
cruel batayle, was the first alone, that fled fro the batayl,
and lefte the standerde, wherin he dydde inough to cause
me lose the feld. But whan it was done, I caused to strike
of his heed. It is an infallyble rule, that they that shewe
them selfe most fiercest, in effecte are most cowardes.

In dyuers bookes I haue redde, and of dyuers I
haue herde, and in many I haue seene, that hit canne not
fayle in a man sufferynge and pacient, to haue vertue and
foꝛce. And it is meruayle that he is stronge and valyant,
that can not suffre. What shall I saye moꝛe of these gre-
ues and domages, that these men of warre do in passing
thꝛough realmes, and of theftes and robberies that they
doo in the houses, where as they lodge? I ensure the, the
woꝛme in tymbre, noꝛ the mothes in the clothes, noꝛ the
sparcle in the towe, noꝛ the darnell amonge the corne, noꝛ
the wesell amonge the grayn, noꝛ the caterpyllers in fruit
trees, dothe so moche damage, as one companye of men
of warre dothe amonge the pooꝛe people. They leaue no
cattayle vnslayne, no gardeyne vnrobbed, no wyld beest

Do vncha-

chased, no: no mayde vndebloured: and yet that woꝝ is,
 they eate without payment, and they wyl not serue with-
 out payment: no: no man can conuerse and endure amōg
 them. Whan they ar payed, by and by they play it away:
 if they be not payed, they robbe and grudge. And the case
 is come to so great coꝝruption, that if thou sawest it, thou
 woldest saye, that eche of them were the heed of ruinour,
 and the begynninge of stryfe, poyson to vertues, Dyate
 of rouers, and capitaynes of all wretched theues. I saye
 not this without wepyng. It is the greatest mockynge
 of all mockeries: and the case goth to suche losse and par-
 dition, that these myscheuous people are our homely & fa-
 miliar enimies, & yet there is no emperour that can haue
 lordshyp ouer them, no: Justyce chastise theym, no: feare
 withdraue them, no: law subdue them, no: shame refreyn
 them, no: dethe that can kyll them: fo: they be men reime-
 dylese: They ouer renne, and eate, and dispoyle euerye
 man. O howe sorowfulle I am fo: the Rome, that was
 not wont to haue in the suche ylle aduentures. Certainly
 in the auncient tyme, whan thou were peopled with right
 and trewe Romayns, and not as thou arte now with ba-
 stardes childerne, than the armies, that went fro Rome,
 were as well disciplyned and moꝝigerate, as the scholes
 of the philosophies, that were in Grece. The olde auncy-
 ent histories wytnesse, that kinge Philyp of Macedonye,
 and his sonne Alexander, were happy in warre, bycause
 they kepte their armies so well ordered, that it seemed bet-
 ter to be a senate that ruled, thā an armie that wold fight.
 I sweare to the by myn honestie, that fro the tyme of Quin-
 tus Cincinatus, vnto the noble Marcus Marcellus, in
 the whiche tyme was the greatest prosperitie of Rome,
 the common people hadde greatte gloꝝie as longe as di-
 sciplyne of knyghtehode was well coꝝrected: and we be-
 gan

ganne to lose, whan our capitaynes beganne to deserue to be depriued and condempned. O cursed be thou Alsye, and cursed be the day, that we had conqueste of the. The goodnesse that hath folowed therby we see it at our eye: and the domage that is come by the shall alwayes be sorrowed. In the we haue wasted our treasures, & thou hast filled vs with thy vices: In chaunge of stronge and vertuous men, thou hast sent thy wantons to vs: We haue ouercome thy cites, and thou triumphest of our vertues: we haue beaten downe thy foztresses, and thou hast destroyed our good customes: by force thou art becom ours, and with our good wylles we are now thyne: Vniustely we are lordes of thy realmes, and we are iuste subiectis to thy vyces: Synally Alsye thou shalt be the sepulchre of Rome, and thou Rome shalt be the syncke and gutter of the fylthynes of Alsye. Certaynly Rome ought to haue bene content with the landes of Italye, whiche is the nauyll of the worlde, without conqueringe the landis of Alsie, to bereue them from other. I lyke wel all thingis that I haue redde of my predecessours, sauinge that they were proude, as we their successours be to hardye. And I sweare vnto the, that yet peraduenture after the peyn, we shall becomme vertuous and good. All the rychesse and tryumphes, that our forefathers haue bzoughte out of Alsye, the goodes and the rychesse, and they also with the tyme at laste hadde an ende: but the wantonnes and vices that are in vs their chylderne, dothe remayne styll vnto this daye. I wolde to god that the Pryncis knewe what an outragious thyng hit is to inuente warres in straunge landes and countreyes, and what trauayle they serche in theyr persons, and what thoughtes in their mindes, and what murmure and mocyon in their subiectis, what ende and wasting of thei riches and thei tresures,

Dd.ii.

What

what pouertie to their frendes, what pleasure to their enemies, what damage to their natyue countreys, & what poyson they leaue to their owne enheritours? I sweare to the, that if I had knowen that I do knowe, I wyll not say but by bloudde shedde they be taken, if they had offered them selfe with good wyll and shedynge of teares, I wolde not haue taken them. The trouth is, that our capitaynes neuer slew. xx. M. men of Alsie, with theyr armure that they bare out of Italye, but they losse mo than a. C. M. Romayns with the vices that they brought to Rome: As eatynge openly in the palayes Ausonios, suppyng in their houses secretely, the women to clothe them as mē, and the men paynted as women, The patritiens bearyng Measques, The Plebeyens vsynge smelles, and the emperours to weare purple. These. vii. vices of Alsie, Alsie sent for a presēt to Rome. Seuen noble capitayns brought them, I leaue to shewe their names, leest I shulde shame them with their faultes, sythe they were so noble men by their high dedes. Nowe ye princis beholde what profytte it is to take straunge realmes with your warres: I leue the vices that they recouer, and the vertues that they lese, with the pardicion of their tresure that they loue. For certayn there is neyther kyng nor realme brought to extreme pouertie, but by warrynge a straunge realme with finall extreme conqueste. I demaunde of the myn owne frende Cornelius: What causeth princis to lese their treasure, & require them of other? Whan their owne can not suffyse, than they take fro churches, serche dyuers loones, reyse tributes, and inuent newe subspidies, gyue and spende on straungers, and make him selfe hated of his owne, pray euery man, and haue nede of euery man: aduenture his persone, and aduenture his renoume? If thou knowest not this, I wyll tell the, if thou wylt here me. These prin-

cis counsell with men, they lyue with men, and finally at the laste they are men. At one tyme by pryde that surmounteth them, an other tyme by counseyll that fayleth them, some imagininge by their fantasies, some sayinge, that yf he haue great goodes, he ought to encrease his fame, and that no memorie shuld be of him, if he inuented no warre, and that the emperour of Rome by right is lord of al the erthe. And in this maner as his fortunes is base, and his thoughtes high, the goddis suffreth that whā they thinke iustly to wyne an other mannes iustely, iustely they lose their owne. O princis, I can not tell what begyleth you, for where as ye may be ryche with plesure, ye wyl be poore with warre: where as ye may be beloued, ye wil be hated: where as ye may play and spozte your selfe, and reste in a sure lyfe, ye wyll commytte your selfe to the chaunces of fortune: and where as other haue necessitie of you, ye put your selfe to be in the necessitie of other. And though the prince make no warre, he shoulde not suffre his people to warre: Euery man ought to leaue the warre. Irend Cornelius, I demaunde of the, whether is moze trauayle to his persone, or domage to his realme, a kyniges ennemies or els his owne armie? His ennemyes robbeth on the costes, but our men robbe all the londe: The enmyes maye be resysted, but we dare not speake to our owne me: The ennemies enuade vs on one day, and recule backe agein, but our garisons robbe daily and abydeyth styll. The strangers haue some feare, but ours are shameles: and at the laste the farther our ennemies goo, the moze they waxe lyberall, and our armies of men euery day encreaseth in crueltie, in suche wise, that they offende the goddis, and be importunate to their princes, and noyfull to the people, lyuyng to the domage of euery man, and be vnprofytable to all men. By the god Mars I swere to the, and as I

Dd. iii. may

maye be holpen in the warres, that I gouerne with my
 hande, I haue mo complayntis daily fro the senat on the
 capitaynes that ben in Illyrike, than on all the ennemies
 of the Romaine people: I haue moze feare in mayntey-
 nyng one standarde of a hundred men, than to giue bat-
 taye to. l. M. ennemies. For the goddis and fortune dis-
 patcheth a bataye in an houre, be it good or bad, but with
 these other I can do nothyng in al my lyfe. Thus it hath
 ben my frende Cornelius, and thus it is, and thus it shall
 be. Thus I founde it, thus I holde it, and thus I shall
 leaue it: Our fathers dyd inuent it, and we susteyre hit,
 that be their chyldren, & for yll it shal abyde to our heires.
 I save to the one thyng, and I thinke I am not deceyued
 therin: To endure the great damage and no prouffite of
 these people, I thinke it is a gret folly in man, or els a gret
 punishment of the goddes. Be the goddis so iuste in all
 iustice, and so true in all veritie, that they wyll suffre vs
 without reason to do yll in straunge landes, to whom we
 dyd neuer good, and in our owne houses to haue shrewde
 tournes of them, that we haue alway done good: These
 thiges frend Cornelius I haue writte to the, not bicause I
 thinke it nedeful that thou shuldest know it: but my spirit
 resteth in shewyng of it. Panutius my secretarie went to
 visite this lande, and on the way I gaue hym this letter:
 I do sende to the two horses, I thinke they be good. The
 armure and iewels that I wone on the Parthes, I haue
 departed them. Howe be it I sende the a chariot of them.
 My wyfe faustyne saluteth the, and sendeth to thy wyfe
 a riche glasse, & an ouche of precious stones to thy dought-
 ter: I beseeche the goddis to gyue the good lyfe, and me a
 good dethe. Marcus thy louer writeth to the Cornelius
 his frende.

To Torcatus beinge at Gayette in conso-
lation of his banyshement.

The. iii. letter.



Arke of mount Celio, companion of the em-
pire, to the Torcate beinge at Gayette, patri-
cien Romayne, salute to thy person, and ver-
tue and force ageinst aduerse fortune. It is a
thre monethes syth I receyued thy letter, the
whiche myn eies myght not make an end to rede, nor my
handes to answer. I am so heuy for thy heuynes, so peyn
full for thy peyn, and so hurt with thy wound, that where
as thou wepest with thyn eies outwardly, I wepe with
my hart inwardly. I wote what difference is betwene the
tree and the croppe, and the dreme fro the trouthe: I here
of thy tranayles by straunge persons, and I fele them in
myne owne person. But where as true frendes be, the pey-
nes are in comon. The great infortunes oughte to be suf-
fred for one thyng, bycause they declare who are the true
frendes: I knowe by thy letter, howe thou arte banished
from Rome, and all thy goodis confiscate, and that for
pure heuynesse thou arte sycke in thy body. I wolde go se
the, and counsell thy persone, bycause that thou myghtest
see, with what harte and wyl I doo wepe for thy mysad-
uenture. But if thou take me for thy true frende, beleue
me as I beleue the, that is howe moche I feele thy mys-
aduenture. Of trouthe as thou arte banyshed bodilye, soo
am I banyshed inwardely in my harte. And yf thy goo-
des or substaunce be taken away fro the, I am robbed of
a good frende and companion. And if thou lackest thy
frendes, I am abydynge amonge myn enemies. Though
I myght remedy by workynge of my power, thy banysh-
ment: yet I wyl counsel thy spirite with certayn wordis.

If I

If I be not forgetfulle, I neuer sawe the content in this
 lyfe: bycause thou were euer besie in thy prosperitie, and
 wery of any aduersitie. And as now I se the dispayre, as
 though thou were but newe come into this world. I haue
 knowen the this. xxxii. yeres in great ioy: and nowe thou
 complaynest of. vi. monethes that fortune hath tourned
 her whele. ¶ Torcate, now! thou mayst knowe, that ver-
 tuous men feare moze two dayes of prosperitie, than two
 hundred of aduerse fortune. ¶ Howe many and oftenty-
 mes, and in howe many cities thou and I haue sene slyp
 fro their prosperytes, charged with byces of other and
 straunge enimities: In suche wise, that their baynglozie
 and slypper prosperitie endured but two dayes: and the
 hurtes and losse that they haue hadde, and the cruell and
 extreme enmyties the whiche also that they haue wonne,
 lasteth to this daye in their heires. Contrarye wise we see
 some set in the height of tribulations, the whiche haue es-
 caped by castynge away vices, clothinge them with ver-
 tues, wery of euill warkes, folowynge goodnes, beinge
 frendes to all, and ennemies to none. What wylte thou
 that I shulde say moze? They that are happye, are ouer-
 come in peace, and they that are vnhappy, do ouercomme
 other in warre. Therfoze my frende Torcate, it semeth to
 me no lesse necessitie to gyue good councelle, than to pros-
 per with great prosperite, to remedy them that are in gret
 heuinesse. For as wery are they that go the playn way, as
 they that costeth the highe mountaynes. By thy letter I
 perceyue, that what time thou hopedst to haue ben in most
 quietnes and rest, this yll fortune and chance felle on the.
 Be not abashed therof. For thoughe that all newe chaun-
 ces causeth newe thoughtes presently, yet therby cometh
 moze cause of stedfastnes in tyme to come. Certaynly the
 tree beareth not so moche fruit there as it spryngeth first,
 as

as it dothe whan it is newe sette in an other place. And al good smelles are moze odoziferous, if they be wel medled and chaufed togyther. I pray the tell me, abidyng in the world, being a childe of the same, and lounyng the worlde, what hopest thou to haue of the worlde, but worldly thinges? The worlde shal always be the worlde. At this houre thou arte worldly, and shalt be worldly, and shalt be entreated, as the worlde is accustomed to entrete them that be worldly. If thou knewest thy selfe and thy weakenes, if thou knewest fortune & her mutation, if thou knewest the men and their malices, if thou knewest the worlde and the flatteringe therof: thou wolde reyse the fro the hande therof with honour, and not be chastysed with infamye. O howe we hope to spede by fortune? O how often without respecte vnwares we passe this lyfe? O howe often we trust the bobaunce of this worlde: and we trust therein as moche as though it neuer begiled man. I say it not because I haue harde it sayd, nor because I haue redde it in bokes: but for we se it dayly with our eyes: some decaye and lese their goodes, other falle and lose their credence, some falle in sighte, and lese their honour, and other arise and lose their lyues, and some thinke, that all are free by priuilege, where as neuer none were priuyleged. O my frende Corcate of one thynge I am certayne, and let eue-ry man take it for a warnyng: Men by whom we be bozne be of so yll disposition, and the worlde so fierse and cruel, with whom we lyue, and the glydinge serpente fortune so full of poyson, that they hurt vs with their fete, & byte vs with their tethe, and scratche vs with their nayles, and swelle vs with theyr poyson: so that the passinge of the lyfe is no lesse than takynge of deathe. And in case thou haste sene somme lyue longe without any falle of fortune, thinke not it is well: for it is not by good aduenture, but
Ce the

the more his yll fortune. The worlde is so malycious, that if we take not hede to prepare agaynst his wynde, it wil ouerthrowe vs to our greater losse and hurt. Noche sooner dye they that ben helthful with the infirmities & sycknes of few days, than they that be weke with their lāgour of many yeres. I say this bycause I hold it for most suretie, that the myserable man, that maye not lyue withoute myseries, shulde fele the peynes by lyttell and lyttell, and not al at ones. We ete dyuers thynges by morsels which if we shulde eate hole, wolde choke vs. In lyke wise in diuers dayes we suffre dyuers trauayles, whiche al togyder wolde make an ende of vs in one day, and than sythe the goddis wyl permytte, that thy myll fortune shall fall, and that the ryuer of thy decay ouerflowe her chanel, & where thou wenest to be most sure, thou shalt be in gretest peryll: we shall minister to the a syrope, to the entent y thou lose not thy good renoume, though thou haue lost thy goodis that be nought. Tell me I praye the Cozcate, why complaynest thou, as he that is sycke? why criest thou lyke a foole? why syghest thou as a desperate man? why wepest thou as a childe? Thou haste gone an yll way, and complaynest of thy reste: Thou arte clothed to goo throughe bushes, and thou sayest that thy gownes do teare. Thou walkest amonge the stones, and arte sorre bycause thou fallest. Thou haste leaned and thought not to fall, and finally thou arte sette with the worlde, and thynkest to be free with heuen. Wylte thou haue sauconuite of Fortune, that is ennemye to many? She can not grue the naturalitie, whiche is mother to all thinges. I wyl aske the one thyng: I put the case that the see had promysed the alway in suretie of her, and the skye clere wether, the sommer snowes, and the wynter flowres: It wyl not be of a suretie Cozcate. If nature can not fulfyll this, being thy

thyn owne mother, thinkest thou than, that fortune wylle
 gyue it the, whiche is thy vniuste stepmother: kepe this
 rule for certayne and neuer forgete it, that al natural cour-
 ses are subiectes to mutation euery yere. And all worldly
folke that truste on fortune, shall suffre eclyps euery mo-
ment. And than syth naturall thynges can not be alwayes
 in one case, of necessitie the goodes of fortune muste pe-
 ryshe, sythe they be superfluitie. Right vniuste shulde the
 ryght wise goddis be, yf they had made perpetuall that,
 whiche is damageable to so many: Or that which is pro-
 fitable, to haue created it fallyble. I wylle speake no more
 of thy prosperitie in tymes paste, but nowe I wylle come
 to the banyshment that thou suffrest presently. Suspe-
 cious fortune made a fayre at thy gate, knowynge what
 she solde: and thou wylst not what thou boughtest: She
 made a dere a bargayne, and solde it dere to the: she hath
 gyuen the sowre for swete, and the swete is tourned in to
 sowrenesse for the: she hath gyuen the yuell for good, and
 hath tourned thy good to yll. And finally she hath begyled
 the at a iust price, not wenyng to the, that she wold haue
 done the damage: and though that she was malicious in
 sellynge to the, thou were no lesse folysshe in the byenge
 therof: for the more there is in fortunes shoppe, the more
 suspecte is the marchandysse. O howe vnhappy we be, for
in that market is nothyng solde but lyes. And she trusteth
 nothyng but vpon the pledges of our renoume: and at
 last wylle not be payde but with the shotte of our lyfe, and
 that is the moste greattest and myscheuous wounde.
 It is openly knowen to euery man as to the, that where
 as they thynke not to lcese theyr wares, false Fortune in
 that they purpose, to their myshappe lyeth in a wayte, and
 is redy to bye theym. Thou makest me very sore abashed
 Tozcate. I haue reputed the ryght wysse and vertuous,
 C.ii. and

and nowe I take the foꝛ a losse foole. In good soth whan
 I saue the yonge in Gayette, I iudged the woꝛthy to go-
 uerne Rome: and nowe that thou art olde, thou deseruest
 nothyng but to be caste in a galey as a sclaue. O how ma-
 ny thynges are there to knowe a man by? There is not so
 high a toppe of a hylle, but hit is trodden with fete: :
 noꝛ soo depe a see but hit is sounded with leade: And in a
 hundrede yeres one manne can not attayne to knowe an
 other mannes hart. Telle me I praye the, what lookedst
 thou foꝛ of foꝛtune, after so greatte welthe? Lpynge to
 the woꝛlde, thynke to be in the woꝛlde. The childerne of
vanitie go and walke so longe, that at laste their diuor-
 nate desires can not take fro the woꝛlde their antike vila-
nies and shamefulnes, the whiche foꝛtune dothe not with
 them that she hath reysed vnto the skyes, thynkest than,
 that she shall bowe with the to the lowest parties? O fole
 Coꝛcate, thoughtest thou to passe the see without peryll;
 to eate fleshe without bones, To drinke wine withoute
 lyes, to walke in the wayes without findynge stones, To
 bye wheate without chaffe: In good soth, if thou though-
 test to bye y^el goodes without hyndꝛance of thy good fame
 and maynteyne thy good renoume without losse of y^el got-
 ten goodes, I wold wytte of the, what thou dyddest hope
 to do, sythe so longe season thou haste made a face in the
 woꝛld. xxxiii. yere thou hast ben in the grace of the woꝛld,
 nowe it is tyme fro hengfoꝛth to fall at some discorð ther-
 with. Abelle, kynge of the Assiriens, hoped but seuen
 yeres of good prosperitie. Quene Simitramis but one-
 ly syre. Abell kynge of the Lacedemoniens fyue. Cutrete
 kynge of the Caldeens. iiii. Alexander kynge of the Gre-
 kes. iii. Amplecar the great of Carthage but. ii. and our
 Gayus Cesar Romayn but one onely, and many befoꝛe
 and syth not one yere: and syth thou were the moſte vn-
 knowē

known of lygnage, The grossest of vnderstandyng, and the leest of power, the darkest of fame, and the most weake in merites, wherfore than complaynest thou of fortune? If thou haddest ben vertuous in al these. xxx. yeres, thou haddest neuer eaten without thoughte, nor neuer spoken without suspencion, nor slepte without sterlinge, thinking what thou haddest to do, and wherin fortune myght begyle the. He that so longe is besette aboute with so many ennies, I can not tell howe he shulde take any sure slepe. Ah Torcate Torcate, the worlde hath so many falles, and we knowe so yll howe to continue amonge theym that be worldly, that scantly we are fallen whan our handes and fete lyke sclaues be so fast tied, that we can not lose them. It fylleth our persons ful of vices, strengtheth our synes to wickednes, weaketh our hartis in vertues, and finally rendzeth our spirytes in a traunce, and maseeth our vnderstandynge, and chaungeth our taste, and suffereth vs as bestes to shewe our euylles that we fele with waylynges, all though as men we durst not shew it. And that this is true, it appereth, that whan we see, that we lose, we lament and complayne, and none can helpe hym selfe. This smalle lesson I wypte to the, to the ende that thou lyue in lesse thoughte. The horse colte that thou dyddest sende me, leapeth very well: The spanyell that thou sent to me, is well, but he is wylde: The calfe was very fatte, and I wolde haue eaten it forthewith, but my wyfe Faustyn besyly prayed me to kepe it, and thynketh that it was stolne in a gardeyne. I sende to the. ii. M. sexters for to succour thy in thy trauayles. And as touchyng thy banishment at tyme conuenient I shal dispatche thy matters with the senate. The consolation of the goddis, and the loue of man be with the Torcate. The sodeynnes of euils and the yre of the furies be sepecate fro me Marcus Au-

relius. Faustyn my wife greteth the : and in lyke wyse fro
her parte and ours, to thy mother in lawe, and thy wyfe
haue vs recommended. Marc of Rome sendeth this wy-
tynge to Torcate of Capette.

A letter to Domitius of Capue to comforte
him in his banyschement.

The fourth letter.



Arke oratour Romayn, borne on mount
Celio, to the Domitian of Capue salute
and consolation of the goddis consola-
tours. In this right colde wynter there
arose in this land a myghty gret winde,
and by reason of the great wynde arose
great quantitie of waters, and the wa-
ters haue caused great humidities, and great humydities
bryde dryuers maladies and diseases : and amonge all the
infirmities of this lande I haue the goute in my hande,
and the ciatica in my legge. For the helth of my wyfe Fau-
stine I can neyther go nor wyte. I save it bycause I can
not wyte to the so longe as the case wolde require, and as
thy thankes meryteth, and my desire coueteth. It is she-
wed me by occasion of a hors thou hast hadde stryfe with
Patricio thy neyghbour, & that thou art banished fro Ca-
pue, and set in the prysen Hamartyn. Thy goodes are co-
fisked, and thy chyldren banysshed, thy house cast downe,
and haue put thy neuewe out of the senate, and banysshed
the the senate for. x. yeres. It is tolde me that all the daye
thou wepest, and wakest by night, in company thou diest,
and doest loue to reste solytarilye, Thou hatest pleasure,
and louest pensyuenes : and I haue no meruayle : for so-
rowfull hartis lyueth with teares and wepyng, and be-
merp

mery & laugh in dieng. I am right sozie to se the lost: but
 moche the moze þ for a so smal a thyng thou shulde be cast
 away, as for a hors to lese al thyn estate. O how variable
 is fortune, and howe sone a mysadventure falleth befoze
 our eies: Fortune gyueth these euyls, & we se it not: with
 her handes she toucheth vs, and we fele it not: she treadeth
 vs vnder her fete, and we knowe it not: she spekech in our
 eares, and we here her not: she crieth aloude vnto vs, and
 we vnderstonde her not: and this is bicause we wyll not
 knowe her: and fynally, whan we thynke we are mooste
 surest, then are we in mooste peryll. Trowth it is, that with
 a lyttell wynde the fruyte falleth fro the tree: and with a
 lyttell sparckle, the house is sette a fyze: a small rocke bre-
 keth a greatte shyppe, and with a lyttell stone the legge is
 hurte. I say that oftentymes of that we feare not cometh
 greatte peryll. In a close fistula rather than in an open
 the surgiens doute the peryll: In depe styllle waters the
 pilote feareth moze than in the greate hye wawes: Of se-
 crete enbushment rather than of open armies the warri-
 our doubteth: I wyll not onely say of straungers, but of
 their owne pꝛopze, Not of ennemyes, but of frendes, not
 of crewelle warre, but of peace, not of open damage oz
 sclaunder, but of secrete peryll and myschiese, a wyle man
 oughte to beware. Howe many haue we seene, that the
 chances of fortune coude not abate, and yet within a short
 whyle after vnwares with greatte ignomynous shame
 hathe ouerthrowe them? I wolde witte of the, what reste
 can a persone haue, that trusteth euer vpon the prosperite
 of fortune, syth for so lyghte a cause we haue sene so great
 a stryfe in Rome, and suche a losse to thy hous. Seynge
 that I se, I wyll not feare the wyndes of her trauayles,
 nor beleue in the clerenesse of her pleasures, nor her thou-
 ders that shall feare me, nor trust vpon her flatteringes:

nor

noꝛ thanke her foꝛ that abydeþ with me, noꝛ be soꝛe foꝛ
 that she taketh fro me, noꝛ wake foꝛ any trouthe that she
 sayth to me, noꝛ ryle foꝛ any of her lesynges, noꝛ laughe
 foꝛ any thyng that she desireth of me, noꝛ wepe foꝛ gyuing
 me leaue, if thou knowest not the cause of this I shall tel
 the. Our lyfe is so doubtfull, and foꝛtune so waywarde,
 that she doth not alway threate in strykynge, noꝛ stryketh
 in thretenynge. The wyse man gothe not so temperately,
 that he thynketh at euery steppe to falle, noꝛ lyue with so
 smalle a thought to thynke to ouerthrowe in euery playn
 pathe. Foꝛ oftentimes fals foꝛtune shaketh her weapon,
 and striketh not, and an other tyme striketh without sha-
 kyng. Beleue me of one thyng Domitius, That parte
 of the lyfe is in moſte perylle, whan with lyttel thoughte
 oꝛ care men thynke them selfe moſt ſure. Wylt thou ſe the
 trouthe therof. Aduyſe the of Hercules that ſcaped fro
 many perylles by ſee and by lande, and yet dyed betwene
 his lēmans armes. Laomedon peryſhed not vnder Troy,
 but was ſlayne in his houſe. Great Alexander dyed not
 in makinge warre ouer al the erth, but he was ended with
 a lyttel popſon. The couragious Caius Ceſar ſaued hym
 ſelfe in. lii. battayles, and after in the ſenate was ſlayne
 with. xxxii. ſtrokes of penkniues. Aſclapio brother of Pom-
 peie periſhed not ſlotynge. xxii. yere vpon the ſee, but he
 was drowned after in drawynge water at a welle. Tenne
 capitayns that Scipio had with hym in Affrike, that vā-
 quiſhed many harde batayles, as they were mockinge on
 a brydge, they fel fro the brydge and were drowned. Good
 Drufio that had ouercome the Parthes, the day of his tri-
 umph goinge to his chariot there fell a tyle that claue a-
 ſonder his heed, ſo that baynegloye was the ende of his
 good lyfe. What ſhuld I tel the moꝛe? Thou knoweſt wel
 that Lucye my ſyſter haungeth a nedel on her boſom play-
 enge

enge with her chylde betwene her armes, the chylde with
his hande hpyte the nedell suche a stroke into her bodye,
that he slewe his mother. Gneo Ruffyn the consull sent
ageinst the Germapns, of our tyme was so valyaunt in
armes, that none of our pzedecessours surmoüted him :
yet he kembynge his olde whyte heares, one of the tethe
of the combe entred into his heed, wherby grewe an im-
postume, by occasion wherof he ended his honorable life
foz so small a case. Howe semeth the Domitius? Als I
do tel the of so small a nōbze, I coude recyte infynite ex-
āples. What misfortunes fel after good fortunes? what
myschaunce after great glozie? what mysaduenture after
great happe? what great euyl they take of their deathe
after the begynnynge of great welthe in the lyfe. I be-
inge as they, knowe not what to desyre, but they beinge
as I am wyll rather chuse the laborous and honourable
dethe, than an yll dethe and an honourable lyfe. To my
semynge he, that wyll be a man amonge men, and not a
beast amonge bestes, ought to trauayle soze to lyue well,
and moche moze to dye better. Foz at the fynall ende an
yll dethe putteth great doubte of the good lyfe : and the
good dethe excuseth the yll lyfe. I haue wrytten to the at
the begynnynge of my letter, that by reason of the hu-
midities, the gowte greueth me ylle. But to satisfie thy
desire, I wolde wryte with my hande moze at lengthe.
Two days the loue that I bare to the, hath fought with
the peyne that I endure. My wylle wolde wryte, but my
fyngers can not holde my penne. The remedy is, syth I
may not as I wolde, that thou wylte take as thyn owne
that I may do, as myn owne dede. I austine my wyfe sa-
luteth the, who by reason of my diseases is halfe ylle at
ease. It is shewed her, that thou haste greate peyne of a
hurte of thy face, she hath sent the a vore with baume,
ff that

M A R C V S

that thy hurte shall nat appere in thy bisage, if thou canst fynde any grene almondes or new nuttis, Faustine prayeth the to sende her some by this bearer. I haue but lytell stoze of money, therfoze I send the a gowne and thy wife a kytell. No moze but I pray the goddis to giue the that I desire for the: and to giue me that thou desirest for me. And beside that I do wyte to the with my hande, I gyue to the myn owne propre herte.

A letter sent fro the emperour to Claudius and Claudyne his wyfe, bycause they beinge olde lyued as yonge persones.

The. v. letter.



MArke of mount Celio to the Claudius and Claudine hus bande and wyfe, dwellynge in my warde, I desire helthe, sendyng you this letter. The trouthe is, bycause ye are my frendis, & vnder my charge, I enquire of them that come fro you of your estates: and by theyn that go to you, I sende recommendations to you bothe: yf ye haue my good wylle demaunde it of your hartis. And yf in your stomacke ye repete and take me but as a suspicious frende, thanne I thynke my selfe euen cleane condempned. The cruelle forgetfulnesse, the whiche may be causer of myne absence, peradventure barysheth the good dedes that ye haue receyued of my persone. If in any thynge I haue entreated you with lyes, than I require that ye entreate me nothynge with trouth. But if I haue bene alwayes your good neyghbour and frende, yf ye haue any nede of myne honour, than be to me as good. Cayo Furion my frende, as wel as your parent, passynge this waye to Alexandye, hath shewed me
many

many thinges the which were done in Rome: and amōge other he shewed me one thyng, that caused me to laugh whan I herd it: and yet it was right greuous to me, whā I thoughte thereon. Some thynges we take sodeynly in spozte and mockerie, the whiche afterwarde well considered, maketh vs very sozie. He shewed me, howe that ye seme to euery man right auncient, and very yong in your doinge: for ye aray your selfe dayly with newe apparell, as ye shulde go to weddinges: and where as men do honour you as ancient persons, ye shew your selfe wanton: and whan folke renne to se gewgawes, ye are not the last. There is no lyghtnes in Rome, but it is registred in your house. Thus ye gyue your selfe to plesures, as they that thynke neuer to haue displeasure. And finally whan ye shulde lyfte vp your handis, ye entre newly into the wages of the worlde. Trewely my neyghbours and frendis to speake with due reuerence, I am ashamed of your vnshamefastnes, and am no lesse sozie for your faultis. There be dyuerse greuous faultes, that are made lyghte by the honeste withdrauinge of them. And some other that are but smal fautes, & fyndyng no ways to leue them are esteemed very great. By all the goddis, I can fynde none occasion howe for to excuse your euylles: but I see inowe wherwith to condempne them. Wherfore pardone me, yf that I am so vn honest to speake so moche, if ye be not honeste in your luyng. In good sothe I denaye not, but that thou Claudius haste ben right free and lyberalle of thy personne, and thou Claudine ryght faire of bylage, & many persons for the beautie of thy forheed haue ben curious to haue had y to wife: but I wold wyt of y yowth of the one, & beautie of the other, in vsing al your liues in vanite, what goodly trinkettes ye hope to weare in the straytnes of the Sepulchre, O great foles ye and foles agayn.

ff.ii.

Do ye

Do ye not knowe yet, that the tyme fleeth with mounyng
 of wynges? The lyfe trauayleth on her way without lif-
 tyng of her fete: fortune stretcheth her without styring
 her armes, & the world boydeth it selfe saying nothyng,
 the flesh consumeth without felyng, and our glorie pas-
 seth as it neuer had ben: and finally deth assaileth vs er
 euer he knocke at the gate. Certaynly it is impossible for
 to make synewes of blode, of beynes to make bones, of a
 craggy rocke a playne way, and of possible to make im-
 possible: I mene y none shal think, but that the grennelle
 of youthe, shall waste and wydder in aege: O worlde,
 what a worlde arte thou? so lytel is our force & our weke-
 nes so greate, that without resistyng drownest vs wyl-
 lyngly in the depenes of thy peryllous whirlepoole: and
 hydest vs in the thickest of thy mountaynes: and ledest
 vs out of the brode way wandryng by thy narrow pathes,
 and byngest vs into the rugged waye. I do meane, that
 they that be greatest in fauour, thou byngest into daun-
 ger, to the entente that with one stroke of thy fote thou
 mayst ouerthrowe them. O worlde. lii. yere I haue bene
 in the, and yet thou neuer saydest one trouth to me, and
 I haue taken the with. x. M. lyes. I neuer despyred no-
 thyng of the, but thou dydest promyse it me, but thou
 neuer gauest me any thyng promised: I neuer treated
 with the, but thou begyledst me, I neuer arryued at the,
 but thou lost me: I neuer sawe thyng in the, wherby I
 shulde loue the. For all that we se in the, is worthy to be
 abhorred. And beside this, I wote not what is the worlde.
 O what faute is in vs thy worldly wretches? For if thou
 hate vs we dare not hate the: if thou braule with vs, we
 muste be styll: if thou spurne at vs we muste suffre the:
 yf thou beate vs with a staffe, we say nothyng: And yet
 if thou woldest haue vs gone we wyl not go. And worste
 of

of all is, that we had rather serue the for nothyng with
 trauayle, than the goddis with prayer and reste. I were
 to the by the immortall goddis, that often tymes I make
 accompt of my yeres passed: and an other tyme I reuolue
 my booke to see what I haue redde. And lyke wyse I de-
 maunde of my frendes to gyue me counsel to know wher
 in it is that I wolde speake. I beinge at Rhodes redinge
 Rhethorique, My lord Adrian kepynge me there, at the
 age of .xxi. yere, my yonge fleshe, and no lesse weake thā
 tender, at the firste worke I founde solytarinesse, and the
 solytarines with libertie adored the worlde: In adorynge
 I felte it, in felynge I folowed it, in folowing I ouertoke
 it, in ouertaking I toke it, in takinge I proued it, in pro-
 uynge I tasted it, in tastinge I founde it bytter, in fynding
 it bytter, I hated it, in hatynge it, I leste it, in leayn-
 ge it, it returned, and retournynge I receyued it. And in
 this maner. lii. yeres we haue eaten of one breadde, and
 dwelled in one hous. Whā I saw it displeased, I serued it,
 whan it sawe me thoughtfull it chered me, whan I sawe
 it in prosperitie, I demaunded it, whan it sawe me merue
 it begyled me. And thus we be to gyther vnto this daye,
 not gyuyng me leaue to go, nor I wyllynge to departe
 fro it. O worlde thou hast so many countenaunces in thy
 banytie, that thou ledest all wandrynge in vnstablenes.
 Sith we suffre the to take vs, thou wilt neuer deliuer vs:
 if we withdraw our fete fro the snare of fortune, forthwith
 thou fettest our legges fast with irons: and if by chance
 we fyle the yrons, anon thou manaclest our handes: and
 though the way be strayte, the pathe sharpe, the iourneye
 longe, and our fleshe weake, yet our bodies are euer ladē
 with vices, and our hartes fulfylled with thoughtes and
 pensyuenes. Of one thyng I haue great meruayle, and
 I can not deuyse what it is: without any constreynt to the

contrarie, we go surely ouer the brydge, and yet we wylle go an nother waye, and though the same way be sure, yet we wylle aduenture into the gulfre: if the wayes be drye, yet wylle we go throughe the dryte and myre and plasse: haupnge meate for our lypunge, we serche for poyson to kille vs, we serche to be losse, and may be assured: without interest we comynge synne, seinge payne comynge withall: and synally to the intente that we shulde be taken for good, we shote at the whyte of vertues, and hyt the butte of vyces. One thyng I confesse, though it be myn owne shame, Paraduenture in tyme to come it shall be profytable to som other: In. l. yerres of my lyfe, I wold proue all the vices of this lyfe, to se if any thyng myght haue satisfied the humayn malysce: And after I had sene all thyng, I founde that the more I dyd eate, the more I dyed for hungre: The more I slepte, the more I luggyd I was: the more I dranke, the more thyrst I hadde: the more I rested, the more wery I was: the more good I hadde, the more couetous I was: the more I sought, the lesse I founde: And finallye I neuer toke payne for any thyng, but I was euer lette: and than anone I hadde appetyte to an other. Lette no man thynke to lyue in the fleshe, and satisfie the fleshe. It hath power to take from vs our lyfe: and we haue no power to take from it the disordinate couetyse. I wolde fayne knowe of the goddis, why our dayes shuld haue an ende. O cruel goddis what is this? We can neuer passe one good lyfes day, we do but taste it, and so passeth our lyfe: and lyfe is but a dreame, and deathe waketh it. Lette euery man knowe, that the worlde taketh our wylle, and we with our good wyl giue it therto: and it taketh our wylle to the ende to contente vs, and prayse that we prayse, and the tyme passeth soo, that we lyue after the cursed tyme. To attayne vertues we

we haue good desire: but to attayne to vices we putte to all our warkes. This haue I sayde for you Claudius and Claudyne, that in thye score yeres ye wylle not yssue nor goo oute of the pryson of the worlde: Hauynge your feete putrified with yrons and chaynes. What is than to be hoped of yonge personnes whiche be of fyue and twenty yeres olde? Except my memoꝛye fayle me: whan I was with you, ye hadde your neuwes sonnes of your chyldeꝛen maryed, and nyces daughters of your daughters married: and me thynketh whan the gynes come, the season of cherres is not comme: and whanne the newe wyne is tounned, the dyꝛe huskes are caste oute.

Canne ye suffre dyuers neuwes sonnes to your chyldeꝛne in your howse, and fewe yeres in your personnes? Seldomme we see the fruyte and the flowꝛe to gyther: for whan the one is ripe and in season, the other is cleane gone and auoyded.

In this case I thynke meruayle, howe ye can be of manye yeres, and seeme to be yonge. I knewe none other thyng, but whanne ye maryed Lamberte your daughter to Dzulio, and Matryne your nyce, daughter of your dowghter, with Lamberte, that were all lyttelle and yonge chyldeꝛne: and sythe ye be of a good aeye, and lacke good, may gyue vnto eche of theym twenty yeres of your aeye in stede of theyr dowꝛe. And so ye shall vnlade you of yeres, and charge you with other mennes goodes and substaunce. No lesse this mattier passeth in my thoughte, than the shoyte clothe dothe in a false weuers handes. Ye haue strayned it on the tentours, and drawen hit on the perche for to lengthen the lyfe. If ye were made fayre clere cordwayners ware, and swete of smelle, that ye myghte be drawen out alengthe, hit were well doone: but ye are but as fruyte of almondes,
sempnge

semynge drie without, and worme eaten within. For the
 loue that I haue to you, and for neyghbourheed that ye
 haue had with me, I desire styll frendshyppe of you, that
 lyke as I knewe you yonge and very yonge, so to knowe
 you olde and very old. I say not that ye surmoūt in age,
 but your wytte fayleth you. O Claudius and Claudine,
 I wylle ye knowe, that to susteyne youthe, and to deface
 age, to length the lyfe, and driue away dethe: it is not in
 mens handes that desireth it: it is in the goddis that doo
 giue it, whiche accoꝝdinge to iustyce and our couetyse, gi-
 ueth vs lyfe by weight, and deathe without measure. Ye
 may know that our nature is coꝝruption of our body, and
 our bodye is putrifaction of our wytte, and our wytte is
 gypde to our soule, and our soule is mother of our desy-
 res, and our desires are cleers of our youthe, & our youth
 token of our age, and our age spyre of our dethe, and dethe
 the house of our lyfe, wherin to youthe goth on fote, and
 fro age we canne not flee on hors backe. I wolde wyte a
 thynge of you: what finde ye in this lyfe? wherfore dothe
 lyfe content you after. lxxx. yeres of aege? eyther ye haue
 ben good or yl: if ye haue ben good and vertuuous, ye shal
 not reioyce you with yll goddes: if ye haue ben yll, than
 as well desire dethe, to the entent ye shulde be no moze yl:
 or els iustly ye might be slayn by iustyce. For he þ hath be
 yll tyl. lxx. yeres of age, in hym there is no hope of amend-
 ment. Whan the couragious great Pompeie, and Cai⁹
 Cesar were ennemies, and beinge in cruell ciuil batayles
 Rome was infamed and theym selfe losse: The annales
 shewe that suche as came in fauour of Julius Cesar out
 of the west, and the succours of Pompeie out of the east,
 amonge other there came certayne people out of Barba-
 rie, dwellyng among þ moūtayns Riffes toward Inde:
 Their custome was whan they came to thage of. l. yeres,
 to

to make great fyres, and brenne them selfe quick in sacrifice to their goddis, and the same daye the parentis and dzen wolde make great feaste, and eate of the fleshe halfe halfe bzent, and drinke wine with the ashes of the bones. This was sene with the eyes of Pompei, bicause that som accomplished the yeres of fiftye in his campe. O golden worlde, wherein were suche men. O happy people that in all the worlde to come, hath left such a memoze of them. They dispised the worlde and forgatte them selfe. What strokes gaue they to fortune? what delytes for the fleshe? and howe lyttell sette they by their lyues, and yet moze, to set so small stoze by dethe. O what bridell was this for the vicious, and what hope for the vertuouus, what confusion for them that loued this lyfe, and what ensample, not to feare dethe, haue they lefte vs? and sith they dispised their owne propre lyfe: It is then to be thought, that they died not to thentent to take other mens goodis, to thinke that our lyfe neuer shal haue ende, therfoze our couetyse neuer hath ende. O glorious people, and. x. M. tymes blyssed, that lefte their sensualitie and vanquyshe the naturalle wylle, beleue not that yese, but gyue fayth to that ye neuer sawe, as they that se nothing go ageinst the fatall destenies: who gothe againste the waye of fortune, gyue a wyynche to the lyfe, robbe the body at the deth, wyne honour of the goddis, not that they shulde length your lyfe, but to take the reste of the lyfe. Archagatus surgien, and And Anthonius the phisitien, and Esculapius the father of medicines, I thinke wanne but lyttelle in that lande. Who commanded these Barbariens to take sirope in the moynng, an to take pylles at nyght, and to refreshe them with mylke, to take clere barly to anoynt their lyuers, to day to be lette blode, and to morowe to take a purgation, to eate one thyng, and to absteyn fro many thynges: Cha

me thinke that they beinge of .l. yerres of age, and you of
 lxxx. at the leaste, shulde be egall with them in wysedom.
 And if ye wyl not take dethe in good worth, yet at the lest
 amende the yll lyfe. I remembre wel of a long tyme, that
 Fabzicius our neybour wylled vs to beware of a mocke-
 rie, the whiche if it be not broken, there shall folow great
 dishonour. And lithe he shewed me soo good a lesson, I
 wyl pay you with the same money. I wyl shewe it you,
 if ye pooze aged folkes do not knowe it: ye be suche, that
 your eyes are bleared, your noses droppynge, your hea-
 res whyte, your heringe dulle, your tongue falterynge,
 your tethe waggyng, your face wyncled, your fete swol-
 len: your shulders croked, and your stomake distemperid,
 finally if the graues coude speake, they myght rightfully
 calle for you to come, and inhabyte in them. Of trouth it
 is great compassion to beholde yonge ignorance: that o-
 pen their eies to knowe the infortunes of this lyfe, whan
 it is tyme to close them, and to entre into the graue. And
 therof cometh that it is in bayne to gyue counsel to bayn
 yong people. For youth is withoute experience of that it
 doth, & is suspect of y^e it hereth, & wyl not beleue y^e is sayd,
 and dispraiseth other mens couel, & is right pooze of thei-
 owne. And therfore I save Claudius and Claudyne my
 frendes, I fynde without comparison none so ylle an ig-
 norance of goodnes that holdeth these yonge persones,
 as is the obstination of these aged persons in yll. The dif-
 finition of yll, is a man not to knowe that he oughte to
 knowe: yet it is wors to haue the knowlege of wysedom,
 and to lyue lyke a brute beaste. O ye olde goutye people,
 ye forgette your selfe, and renne in poste after the lyfe, and
 ye neuer regarde what shall falle, tylle ye be suche as ye
 wolde not, and without power to retourne backe, & hereof
 cometh, that ye lacke of lyfe, he wyl supplie it with foly.
 Chan

Than awake ye that be slombzing, haue no force to slepe,
 open your slepy eyes, and accustome you to do wel: Take
 that is nedeful for you: and finally appoynt you betimes
 with dethe, or he make execution of your lyfe. Aii. yeres
 I haue knowen theym of the worlde, yet I coulde neuer
 knowe none so olde, nor so putrified in their membres, but
 that their hartes were hole to thinke vnhappynes, & their
 tongues hole to make lyes. Take hede ye pooze olde per-
 sons, me thinke sith somer is paste, ye haste forwarde with
 the tyme: and if ye tary a smalle season, yet ye make hast
 to take lodgynge. I meane that though ye haue paste the
 day in the see with peryll, the night of dethe wyl take you
 at the porte of helth. Hockes do passe with mockynges,
 and trouth with trouthe: though I haue sene you ryghte
 ponge and hardy, now I se you very olde: Though the
 knyght passe his cours, yet it is not his faute if the horse
 be not well reyned: but at the ende of his cours, he wylle
 trymme his hors: Let not that begyle you, that of custom
 hath begiled men: That is ye shalbe as wel esteemed ther-
 by, as though ye had moche moneye. I beleue ye folowe
 dyuers, and yet they all haue enuy at you. But truste me,
 that at the ende, honour is gyuen to a ponge persone poze
 & vertuous, rather than to an olde person ryche & vicious.
 The ryche may haue power to be moze esteemed with poze
 people, and accompanied with ryche and couetous: but
 the vertuous pooze person shalbe better esteemed and lesse
 hated. What can be greater confusyon to a persone, or
 moze shame to our moder Rome, than to se in dyuers pla-
 ces the olde people behaue and appoynt theym as ponge
 folke, as though they lyke the vyne leues dyd newly bur-
 gein: What thyng is it to see the olde persones now in
 our dayes, brayde and make fayre theyr whyte heares,
 trymme and kembe their beardes, weare strayne shoues,
 Eg. it, their

their hosen garded, their Shertes frounced, their clokes of scarlette, their bagges embowded, their chaines of gold about their neckes, fringes of gold and syluer about their apparell, estrige fethers vppon their hattis lyke grekes, perles and rynges on their fyngers lyke Indians, their gownes long lyke flamine prestes, and finally worst of al whan dethe hath gyuen them day, than they answer that newly they wyl serue a lady? O how many haue I known in Rome, that were highly renoumed in theyr youth. And after through wanton lyghtnesse they were but losse in their age: and worst of all, they losse their renoume in theyr age, and the fauour of their parentes, and the profytte of their childzen. Certaynely Guagyn Caton of the ancient linage of the Catons was in Rome a priest of the law. v. yeres, & prouost. iii. yeres, and Censure. ii. yeres, & Dictatour one yere, and Consule. v. tymes, & whan he was past the age of. lxx. yeres, than he began to serue Rosane Doughter of Gneus Curcius a lady ryght fayre & yonge: and he doted so farre in her loue, that he spent all that he had to serue her, and wold wepe lyke a chylde whan he saw her. It fortunied this lady fell sycke of a feuer, and she list to eate newe grapes, and it was in spryng tyme, whā there was none ripe as than in Rome. He sent for some to the felde of Danubius that was a. M. and. v. C. myle thense, and this was shewed to the senate, and they ordeined that Rosana was closed in with the virgins bestales, and the old man was banyshe perpetually out of Rome, and his childzen lyued in great pouertie, and the father dyed infamed. I beleue that ye haue herde of this. There were dyuers that reputed for a greate vilanye the dede of the olde loue, and praysed the sentence of the senate. But I thinke if Guagin had had as many yonge persones in his banishment, as there was old amorous persons that
toke

toke by hym example, I thinke there shuld not be so many men losse, nor so many women so yll married. And therfore the beste is, that suche people, whan they be warned by their seruantes, and reproued by their parentis, and desired by their frendes that they make not excuse & say, how they be not amorous but in mockery. Whan I was very yong both of age & wyt, on a nyght I met with a neyghbor of myn nygh to the capitol. I was his neuuew & son to his sonne, & I sayd to him. My lord Fabzicius ye ar amorous thus and thus: He answered me, I do it but for pastyme. Certaynly I had meruayle to mete him at that houre, & I was abashed of that answere that he gaue me. In them that be soze aged and of sadnes and grauitie suche requestes ought not to be called amours, but rather dolours, not a pastyme but a losse tyme, no mockery but a folyshenes. For in loue with mockerie foloweth the trouth of infamyne. To the Claudius and Claudine, I demaunde of you olde louers, what is it to be polished and arrayed as ye be so gayly, but the byonde of the tauerne, where there is nothyng but vinegre, fayre egges & nothyng in them. gylte pylles and bytter in taste, an olde botell, and a newe stopell, a hole wounde ranced vnderneath, the fygure of an ore to take partriches, a slyppre way, where no fote is sure, and finally an olde loue is as a knyghte decayed, y helpeth to lese money & can helpe no man fro peryl. Of trouth the old lecherous loue is as a swyne with a white heed and a grene taylle. Than me thynke ye that be my frendes and neyghbours, ye take no hede in brekyng the wynges out of selson whan the fethers be gone: and yet ye begyle me not, to say that there is tyme inough. Beleue me, that that maye be done in the day, leaue it not tyll the nyght of your age. For the blunt knyfe cutteth but yl with the edge, and he that is wont for to eate the fleshe, can not

Eg.iii. eate

eate the boones. Than lette vs comine to the remedye to redresse this dommage, that is, if the howle begynne to falle, shoue and staye it not with pieces of sclender tymbre, but with streight pyllers of the lyfe, that we haue to yelde the goddis, and to men by good fame. And if the vyne of all our vertues be redy to be gadered, at the least lette vs gather that is lefte vs by vnderstondynge. And sithe the waters of our reste are wasted with our yll werkes, lette vs water them with newe muste of good desires, and thā the good goddis wyl be content with the seruices that we ought to do for the merites and rewardes that they do to vs, so that if we desire to attayne golde for our werkes, yet to pay vs with the copper of our good desires. And finally I say to you Claudius and Claudyne, if ye haue offered the meale of your youth to byces, offre now at this tyme the bzanne of your age to the goddis. I haue wyrtten thus largely to you as I thynke: and bycause ye shal not be taken as cowardes, nor I for hardy, gyue no part of this letter to any person.

And I desyre you to haue me recommended vnto all my neyghbours in Rome, namely to Drusine the honorable wydowe. I sende to the two thousand sexters, thou shalte gyue a thousande of them to Gaurina the daughter of thy daughter, I sende it to her for a pleasure that she dydde me at a feaste. Faustyne my wyfe is very sycke. Thou shalte gyue the other thousande to the Westale virgines, that they maye praye for her vnto the goddis. To the Claudyne, Faustyne my wyfe sendeth a coffre, but by the goddes I canne not telle what there is within it. Nowe that ye be aeged, I beseeche the goddes to sende you and me and my wyfe for to ende the reste of our dayes in a good lyfe. Marke your neyghbour and frende hath wyrtten this with his owne hande.

A letter

A letter sente fro Marke the Emperour to Labinia a
Romayn widow for to comfort her for the deth
of her husbände. The. v. letter.



Marke of mounte Celio, firste Consule Ro-
mayne sent ageynste the Daces, to the La-
binia Romayn lady, wyfe to my good frēde
Claudine, salute to the and consolation of
the goddis consolatours. I thynke welle,
thou haste suspecte, that I haue so lytel set

by the, sith in thy pꝛofounde & greuous hurtes my conso-
lation hath ben slouthefull. But I remembre thy noble-
nes, whiche can neuer fayle: and my good wyll, the whi-
che hath euer desired to serue the. I am in suretie that thy
great vertue shulde put away the suspecte. For thoughe
I am the laste to comforte the, yet I am the firste that fe-
leth thy dolours, and shall not be the laste to remedy thy
troubles. And in case that ignorance is the end of al ver-
tues, esperance for al vices, as wel somtime great plesure
taketh away rest fro the wise folkes, & sclādꝛeth the inno-
centes: moch better among vs latyns we fynd with igno-
rance of vices, moze thā the grekes do with the knowlege
of vertues. If y we be ignorāt, we haue no peyne to abide
it, nor sorow to take it. I say it bicause I haue knowē, y I
wold not know, and that is the trauayles at at an ende of
Claudin thy husbāde, & now beginneth the sorow of La-
binia. I haue knowē it certayn days, & wold not discouer
it to y, for it shuld haue bē cruelte. She y hath ben in trou-
ble so lōge a space with absēce, y I shuld haue giuē know-
lege of the deth of such an entierly desired husbād, & it had
ben no reson, that she of whom I haue receiued so many
good dedis, shuld haue of me so yl newes. And sith y hour
y I knew, that ye wylt therof, my peyne hath ben double.

I fele

I fele his dethe, and nowe I fele in his dethe my solytarines, and thy desolation. Thou hast reason to wepe, not for that he is with the goddis in reste, but for vs myserable persons lyuinge in the power of so many ylls, therefore we shulde not cease to take payne and sorowe. O Labinia, oftentimes I haue thoughte, for what thyng I myght fyrste wepe, for the ylle that lyueth, or for the good that dyeth. For as moche hurteth the yll that is found, as the good that is losse. It is greatte payne to se these innocentes dye, and surely it is no lesse payne to se the malicious people lyue. But of that that of necessitie muste needs come, whan it cometh we ought not to sclaunder hit. Shewe me Labinia, dost thou nowe knowe of how good conuersation the goddis be, to whom we hope to go, and howe yll the men be, with whom we are conuersant, that as the yll are bozne to dye, in lykelysse the good dyeth to lyue. For a good man alway lyueth in dyenge, and the yll alwayes dyeth in lyuinge. And than sith the goddis hath caused him to come to them, than it is no great thyng that they haue taken fro the. I am in certaine thy desired husband Claudyn, and my true frend, seing where he is, and remembryng what he hath scaped, had rather to be styll there as he is, than to retorne ageyn to the. Of trouthe the remedies for wydowes is not to thynke of any companie passed, nor of the solytarines present, but to thinke of the rest that they hope to come to. If hytherunto thou hast be in payne abydinge in thy howse, now reioyce the bycause he abydeth for the in his, for thou shalt be moch better en, treated amonge the goddis than here amonge men: nor consent not to thynke, that thou haste losse hym all onely. For syth we all reioyced of his lyfe, we are than bound to wepe for his dethe. The greattest sorowe to a sycke harte amonge all other sorowes, is to se other reioyce at his do-

lours; and contrarpe wyse, the greattest ease amonge all greues of fortune, is to se that other feleth their sorowe. All that my frend wepeth for me with his eyes, and al that he feleth of my sorowes, dischargeth somewhat myn inward peyne. The booke in the tyme of Auguste the emperour sheweth, howe as he was nere to the ryuer of Danubius, he founde a maner of people, hauinge this custome. The same houre whan a hus bande taketh a wyfe, or a louer, they wold swere by their goddis neuer to wepe nor sorowe for any maner of infortune, but to forget their owne propre troubles, and to dye to remedye their louer, & so in lyke wise eche to do with other. O glorious worlde, O right happy age, O people of eternall incinozie, wherein the men were so humble, and their louers so true, that wolde forgette their owne sorowe, and wepe for other. O Rome beyng Rome: O tyme yll spente: O lyfe yll applyed, O small thought rechelesse, Is in these dayes the hartes present separate from welth, and assured without remedy in euill, that men forgettynge that they be men, tourne them selfe to beastes: I desire to gyue the lyfe, and thou dyest to take awaye my lyfe: Thou wepest to se me laugh, and I laugh to se the wepe. And thus without profite of any of vs we lese, and we reioyce in lesynge of our selfe. By the lawe of an honest man I swere to the Labinia, if thy remedy lay in my handes, as thy sorowe dothe at my herte, thy pytiefulle weppynge shoulde not hurte me, nor thy heuy and wofull solytarynes of thy hus band: but syth thy remedy and my desire can not be accomplisshed, and that with dethe, nor with them that be deed we haue no power, than remyt it into the handes of the goddis, who can moche better delyuer vs than we can chuse. We se by experience naturall, that some syckenes is healed by wordes, that be sayd to vs, and somme by woordes

Wh

that

that be layde to vs, and some with wordes do leaue other
 medicins. I say this, bicause the hartis that be in peyne
 make a see of thoughtes, somtyme comforted with bene-
 fitis done to the person, moze than with wordes spoken in
 their eares: an other tyme the sorowfull herte is moze cō-
 forted with wordes of a frende, than with all other serui-
 ces of the worlde. O how sorowfull am I, for in all these
 am I false, considerynge the highnes of the honourable
 lady Romayn, and the smal abilitie of me Marc of moūt
 Celio, I se my selfe so vnable to comforte the, and to re-
 medy the I lack substance, I haue made the a soze wound,
 the whiche wolde be taken in worthe. I wyl not paye the
 with ynke and paper, the whiche I may do with my per-
 sone, for he that gyueth counsell with wordes, may reme-
 dy with workes, if he shew hym self a frende in tyme past,
 and taken in suspect to be an ennemy in tyme to come. If
 thou hast reputed me hytherto for thy neighbour and pa-
 rent to thy hus bande, I pray the nowe to take me to thy
 hus bande in loue, and for thy father in counsell, and for
 sonne in seruyce, and for aduocate in the senate, in suche
 maner that I hope thou shalt say, all that I haue losse in
 many, I haue founde in Marc alone. And bycause that
 in greuous conflyctis, where as crafte and subtyltie is
 forgotten, the vnderstondynge is altered, and the reason
 withdraueth, than there is as moche necessitie of good
 counsell as of a meane remedy. Claudyn nowe deed was
 my frende, and I Marc alyue am his, and also by thy de-
 seruyng thou mayst commaunde me what thou wylte:
 and for the loue that I haue to the, thou mayste desyre of
 me any thyng nedefull. I pray the eschewe the extremitie
 of the Romayne wydowes. For, in all extremities lyeth
 the vice, for al such warieth them selfe, & anoyeth the god-
 dis, & leseth them that be alieue, & doth no profit to them
 be

be deed, but they put suspect to them y^e be ill, as did Fulvia wife to nable Marc Mercello, she seing her hus band buried in the felde of Mars, scratched her visage, and tare her heer, & brake her tethe, & at euery pace swounded, & two senators held her by the armes, bicause she shuld not hurt her selfe: Thā said Flau^s Censur^s, let her alone, for this day she wil folow the iourney of widowes, & so it was, for whiles y^e the bones of Marcello were a brenning, she was entreting to mary an other hus bād, & yet moze to be notid one of the senatours y^e led her, gaue her his hande, as one Romain to another bi perpetual mariage. This case was so foule, & take of euery mā for a gret vilanie, & al the Romans there p^resent were abashed, & were in suspect neuer after to beleue widow in Rome. I say not this Labinia, bycause thou wilt do so: for by the god Mars I swere, the hart of Marc hath of y^e no such suspect, nor thy great age wyl not suffre it, nor the auctoritie of so sadde a matrone wyl demande it. I require the right hartily, forgette not the honestie that oughte to be in a Romaine woman, nor retrayte that is requisitte in a wydowe: for if thou be wydowe of solytarines, that thou felest by him that is deed, than comfort the of the reputaion that is holden of the by them that be liuing. I wyl say no moze to the at this time, but that thy renoume may be suche with all men, to caste suche a bydell vppon theym that be ylle, to cause them to be stil: and to them that be good, to gyue them spurres to serue the. And if ye wyl thus do, take no thought for any besynes that ye haue in the senate. My wyfe Faustin greteyth the, and oftentymes wepeth for this mysaduenture. I send the money to pay thy creditours. The goddis that haue gyuen reste to Claudine thy hus bande, giue comfort and consolation to Labinta his wyfe. Marc of mounte Celio hath wryten this with his owne hande.

Hh.ii.

A letter

A letter sente by Marc the emperour to Cyncinatus his frende, bycause he beinge a gentylman became a marchant.

The. vii. letter.



Arc Edillis Censure, to the Cincinatus of Capue sende salutation for thy person, force and vertue ayenst synyster fortune. Syth the feast Berescinte, moder of the goddis, I haue sene no seruaunt of thy house, no letter of thy hand, that I haue redde, the whiche putteth me in great suspection of thy helthe, and that thou arte in some peryll, or els thou dispraysest our amitie. Discharginge not thy selfe with so lyttell thoughte, no forgette vs nat with so great rechelesnes: for thy trauaylle can not be so omche in wryting, as it shuld be consolation to me to rede thy letters. And if thy hande ware slowe from trauaylle of wrytynge, yet enforce thy harte for myn ease, wherein is semblaunt of true frendes. In that I wyl put the fro annoyauce, and thou to do me pleasure: thou knowest wel the small distaunce that is betwene Capue and mount Celio, was not the cause of our frendeshyppe, but the space hens to Illirico shuld not cause vs to be straungers. The delycate wynges sent out of their owne countrey to strangers take the gretter myght: and the ferther that the persons of true frendes be seporate, the sooner they ought to vnyte & ioyne togyther their mindes. Shew me I pray I Cyncinate, syth thou hast euer founde me true, why hast thou any suspect of my desire? The grene leues outward sheweth, that the tree is not dye inwarde: and the good werkes openly notifieth the inwarde hart secretly. Where it is not perfite, there is alwayes breakyng and faylyng in seruice:

seruice: for he that perfectly loueth, perpetually and faithfully serueth. And I am as moche astonied of thy slouth, in demaundyng somewhat of me, as of thy cowardyse to write. I wyl confesse to the one trouthe, if thou haddest as moche hardynes as wyl and thought of the small effecte of my letter myght satisfie to the greatenes of thyn vnderstondyng, it shulde abyde than for yll done, but not for shorte, as he that throweth his speare. In tyme past whan I was yonge, and thou olde, thou in thy counsels, & I with my money eche gaue to other: but at this houre that thy heed is whyte, men reken the to be olde, & yet thy woorkes accuse the to be yonge. Reason is that I succour thy pouertie with money, & to remedy thy lyghtnes with counsell. For the good wyl that I haue to the, and for the lawe of amittie that I owe to the, I wyl aduertise the as a vertuous man ought to do, and that is to remembre the benefites that he hath receyued, and to forget the iniuries done to hym: esteeme moche his owne smalle power, and holde the greatnes of other at nothyng: fauour the good and dissimule with the euyl: be great with the greatest, and communicable with your inferiours: presently doo good bedes, and also of them that be absent speake good wordes: The greuous losses of fortune, holde them in smalle estimation, and the small losse of honour, hold that in great estimation: for one thyng aduenture not money, and for dyuers doubtful aduenture not a certayntie: and finally be frende to one and ennemie to none. These thynges ought he to haue, that amonge good, wyl be accompted good. I knowe well thou hast left to be pretour of the warre, and nowe thou haste sette thy selfe by lande and by see to vse marchandise. Thou makest me soze abashed, to conquere thyn enemies as a Romayn, and now to take on the the office, to persecute thy frendes as a tyrant. Wylte thou

good counsell
nota

h.iii.

thou do yll to thy neyghbours, and leaue the straungers? wylt thou take away the lyuynge fro hym that gyueth vs liuing, & take away the deth fro him that takith away our life? wylt thou to them that be mouers and strangers giue moderation, & fro them that be sobze take away their rest? Thou wylte giue to them that take away fro vs, and take fro them that gyue vs: delyuer them that be condemned and condempne innocentis. Thou wylt be tiraunt to the common welth, and not defender of thy countrey. Than sithe to all this he aduentureth hym that leaueth dedes of armes, and becometh a marchaunt: I stude sooze what hath meued the to leaue chivalrie, wherein thou haste had great honour, and nowe to take on the an office, wherby foloweth so moche shame and rebuke. Surely I thinke in the none other excuse, but that thou art olde, and canst not clymbe the mountaynes, and nowe thou syttest styll and robbest the places. To olde men olde malady, whan outwarde force sayleth theym, than forthwith they arme them with malyce inwarde. I say it by the soze couetous persons as thou art now. One thyng I wyl say thou hast taken an office, wherby al thy felowes haue robbed in diuers days. Thou shalt gyue accompt therof in one houre, y e and after the tyme shall come, that thou shalt lese all in a moment. For the goddis permitt that one shall be a chastisement of diuers, and longe tyme chastiseth all. Howe is it my frende Cincynate, that in the howse of thy father Cincinate were speares, and not wrytynges hangynge? I haue sene his halle full of armure, and not with fardels, & portall and gates ful of knightes, & not marchantis. Certainly there haue I sene the scole of noblenes, and not as it is now the denne of theues. O Cincinate cursed be so vilayn an office, the marchātis liue pozely to die ryche. & let vs say ageyn cursed be it, bicause the couetise of one that is yll,

is yll, wolde be accomplisshed to the p̄iudice of many & be good. I wyl not hurt the by thy p̄deceſſours, but I wyl aduertise the of thy myserie and of thy ſucceſſours. If thou thinkeſt, & thy vertue ſhuld holde to the ende of the worlde, as the worlde holdeth to the, as it ſemeth by thy white heares, hold me excuſed of the trauayle in perſwading the to here me. How be it, it is reſon that the gate of ſo great a cauſe be knocked at with the hāmer of ſom war nyng, & to bzing it to good reſon, of neceſſitie it muſt paſſe the mylle, and to make clere the vnderſtāding from tyme to tyme, of very nede there requireth counſel. Diuers tymes wyſe mē fayle bicauſe they wold fayle, but if the thinges be of ſuche qualitie, that wyſedom ſuffiſeth not to aſſure them, than it is nedefull, that his wyl be vntied, and his vnderſtōdinge diſſolued, and his owne propre opinion boyde, and than incontynent to take a threde to the aduylſe of an other. Take good hede Cincinate, where as the foundations be not wel edified, the buildynges ar in peryl. The dongeon of this worlde wherin we chyl dren of vānitie do abyde, is founded on the grauell. For let it be neuer ſo ſumptuous, yet a lyttell blaſte of wynde wyl cauſe it to ſhake, and a lyttell heate of proſperitie wyl open it, and a lyttell rayne of aduerſitie wyl diuide it, and within a ſhort whyle or ſpace, whan we leaſt take hede, it wyl falle all flatte on the erth. If the pyl lers be of ſyluer, and benches of gold, and though the benchers be kynges, and continue a thouſande yere, & rule into the entrayles of the erthe: yet they can fynde no ſtedfaſte rocke nor moūtayne wherin to clooſe the goodes of their p̄deceſſours, and their eſtates perpetual. The goddis immortal haue made al thinges cōmunicable to mē mortal, except imortalite; & therfore they be callid imortal, bicauſe they neuer dy, & we be called mortal and fallyng, bicauſe we all take an ende.

How

How stronge so euer the walles be, yet great age causeth it to falle to ruiue. Two thinges semeth to be fre, the which fortune can not set abacke, nor the tyme cause to be forgotten, & they be these. The good or yll renoume among men, and the peyne or rewarde that they that be good or ylle haue of the goddis. O my frende Cincinate, thus acheueth the persones, but the goodes neuer. What greene or ripe or rotten holdeth any season the fruite of the tree floured? I esteeme it nothinge bycause it must dye by nature. Howe be it dyuers tymes in leaues and flowres we beate the frost of some malady, or the blast of some enuious myf hadde. Longe is the webbe in making: but that is made in many days, is cut a sonder in a moiment: Semblably it is a pitous thyng to se a man dye with so great trouaile, and to be sette in the state of honour, and after whan we, neyther regardynge the one, nor the other, and yet we se it perish. And without any memoire of any thing abidyng. O my frende Cincinate, for the loue betwene vs I pray the, and by the immortal goddis I coniure the, beleue not the worlde, the which vnder the colour of a lytell golde, to hyde moche fylthynes, and vnder colour of trouthe to chaunge vs into a. M. lyes, and for a shorte deelyte to gyue vs a. M. displeasures. To them whom it sheweth most loue, it begyleth with greatest tromperies: to whom the worlde giueth mooste goodes it procureth mooste domages: to them that serueth it with mockeries, hit rewardeth with true recompences: and to them that loue it truly, it giueth them goodes of mockeries: finally whan we slepe mooste surest, it waketh vs with greatte peryll. What wylte thou say than of the worlde, shewe me: One thyng I wyl tell the, and me thynke thou shuldest not forgette it: and that is, men oughte not beleue the vayne vanities that we se with our eies, rather than the greatte mer-

meruayles that we here with our eres. One thing I haue regarded, and by long experience I haue knowen it, that but a fewe houses paynted, noꝝ stalles reysed bp we haue sene in Rome: but of a small tyme they take no thoughte foꝝ the walles, but they haue cruelle enmities with theyꝝ neyghbours, and great anoye of their heires, and impoꝝtunate shame of their frendes, and double malice of their ennemies, & enuious pꝛofite in pꝛsenate, and sometyme to put a gouernour out of possession they set foure in honoꝝ: and finally all that with great thought hath be gadered foꝝ their chyld, whome they loue wel with great rest, some time an other heire enioyeth it, of whom they thinke leest. It is a iuste sentence, that suche as begyle dyuers with yll dedes in their lyfe, shuld be begyled of their bayn thoughtes at their deth. Cruel shulde the goddis be, and ryghte greuous foꝝ men to suffre (that the yll that haue gathered foꝝ one heire in the pꝛeudyce of dyuers yꝝ be good) shulde enioye it many yeres. We thinke it shulde be a souerayne foly to be boꝝne wepyng, and to dye sighyng, and to lyue laughyng. The rule to gouerne al partes ought to be egall. O Cincinate, who hath begyled the, that foꝝ a potte full of water, thou haste nede of a greatte laake of this woꝝlde to passe thy wꝛetched lyfe? Wylt thou flee away the skynne of thy handis with the coꝝde of thoughtes, bꝛeke thy body in batayle with great trauayle, and aduenture thyn honour foꝝ one potte of water? What wylte thou moze that I shuld say? but that to fyll a potte of thy goodes thou wylte suffre a. M. perylles. And in the byle exercysinge of thy marchandysse, thou doubttest not foꝝ lesyng of thy credence. And fynally I swere to the, thou shalte abyde deed foꝝ thurst, as though there were no water in the felde. If thou wylt do by my counsaile, desire dethe of the goddis, to reste the as an aeged wyse man: and de-

Ii

maunde

maunde not rycheſſe to lyue yll as a ponge ſole. I haue
 ſore wepte for many, that I haue ſeen in Rome departed
 out of this worlde, and for the I haue wepte droppes of
 blode, to ſe the returne newly bylely to the worlde. My
 ampte and the credyte of the ſenate, the bloud of thy pre-
 deceſſours, the auctozite of thy perſon, and the honour of
 thy countrey oughte to refrayne thy coueytousneſſe. O
 frende, the whyte heares ſheweth honour and wyſdome,
 the whych ſhuld exerciſe and be occupped in noble dedes.
 Regarde, it bayleth moze to folowe reaſon by the wayes
 of them that be good, than the comyn opinion, whiche is
 the large waye of theym that be yll. For thoughe the one
 be ſtrayte for the fete, it reſeth no duſte for to blynd the ei-
 en as the other dooth, to lyghte ponge perſonnes, whych
 procure lyghtneſſe: ygnoraunce excuſeth theym, but the
 diſordinate couetiſe of the olde perſons cauſeth theym to
 occuppe theyr lyfe with trauayle, and to take deathe with
 greate anoyaunce, and in the one as welle as in the other
 abydethe greatte infamy. O Cincinate take this counſel
 of a frende: Charge not thy lyfe with takynge of theſe
 bayne goodes, ſith thou haſte ſoo ſmalle a moyſell of thy
 lyfe. For ſuche as thou arte, we ſe conſume, and waſte,
 and not to quicken: put no truſte in frendes in the preſent
 proſperite, for it is a pronostiſication of an euylle fortune.
 And ſyth thou arte in a haſarde lyke a foole, me thynke
 thou oughteſt to deſcende a fote lyke a ſage perſone. And
 thus euery man wyll ſaye, howe Cyncynate is diſcended
 and not fallen, I wyll ſaye no moze, but the goddes be thy
 ſauegarde, and defende bothe the and me from gylefulle
 fortune. My wyfe Fauſtine ſaluteth the, for that I ſhuld
 wryte this letter, and hath coniured me to wryte this worde
 to the, that is, ſhe ſayth thou oughteſt to haue wyt, whan
 thy necke is full of heare, and I thinke thou oughteſt in-
 continent

the Cincinate frende
 the Cincinate frende
 the Cincinate frende

cōtinent to take a barber & shaue away the heere, that thy wyt may come forth, I wolde thy couetyse shulde forsake the, & folye Faustine, & the go wte me, & y soner our soules may departe fro our fleshe, than gile shuld remaine in our hartes. Marc of moūt Celio wytech this with his hande.

A letter sente fro Marc the emperour to Catulus censorius, that was sorofull for the death of his sonne Verissimus.
The. viii. letter.



Marc censure newe and yonge, salute and reuerence to the Catulus censorius olde and aunciente. I haue wytten two letters to the, and thou haste made aunswere to none of theym. If it be bycause thou couldest not, I holde my peace: If it be bycause thou woldest not, than I complayne me: If it be for forgetfulness, than I accuse the: If it be bycause thou setteste lyttelle by me, than I appeale the: If thou haste dreamed, that thou haste wytten, I saye beleue not in dreames: And if thou wylte not it shulde bayle to gloryfye me as afrende, yet thou mightest take it write in aduertising & repzeuinge as the father to the son. Yong vertuous persons are bounde to honour auncient wise men, & no lesse olde wylse men oughte endoctrine the yonge people and very yonge, as I am. A iuste thyng it is that the new forces of youth supply & serue them that ar woꝛne by age. For theyꝝ long experience mocketh our tendre age & natural ignorance. Youth is il applied, when it surmōteth the force of the body, & fayllet the vertues of the soule: & age is honozed, wherin the force dꝛieth outwarde, wherby vertues quickneth the moze in ward. we mai se the tre whē the fruite is gadered, the leaues fallen, and flowers dꝛye

Ii. ii. than

than moze grene and perfyte are the rootes. I meane that
 whan the first selson of youth is passed, which is the So-
 mer tyme, than cometh age called wynter, and putrifieth
 the fruite of the fleshe, and the leaues of fauour fall, and
 the floures of delyte are wyddered, & the beynes of hope
 dried outwarde, than it is right, that moche better the ro-
 tes of good workes within be good. They that be old and
 auncient ought to prayse their good werkes rather than
 their white heares. For honour cught to be gyuen for the
 good lyfe, and not for the whyte heade. Glorious is that
 common welthe, and fortunate is that prince, that is lord
 of yonge men to trauayle, and ancient persons to counsell.
 As to regard the susteynyng of the naturalitie of the life,
 in lyke wise ought to be consydered the polycie of gouer-
 naunce, the whiche is that al the frutes come nor drie not
 al at ones, but whan one begynneth an other fayleth. And
 in this maner ye that be auncient teachyng vs, and we
 obedient, as olde fathers and yonge pulletes, beinge in
 the neste of the senate: Of some their fethers fallynge, and
 other yonge fethered: and where as the olde fathers can
 not flye, their trauayles are maynteyned by their tender
 chyldren. Frende Catulus, I purposed not to wyte one
 lyne this yere, bycause my penne was troubled with thy
 slouth: but the smalnesse of my spirite, and the greatte
 peryll of myn offices alwayes called on me to demande thy
 counsel. This priuilege the old wise men holdeth in their
 houses where they dwell: They are alwayes lordes ouer
 them that be simple, and are sclaues to them that be wise.
 I thynke thou haste forgotten me, thynkyng that sythe
 the dethe of my dere sonne Verissimus, the tyme hath ben
 so longe, that I shulde forgette it. Thou hast occasion to
 thynke so, for many thynges renneth in tyme, that reason
 can not helpe. But in this case I can not tel whiche is the
 greatest

greatest, thy trumpete of my dolour. I sweare to the by the goddis immortall, that the hungry wormes in the entrayles of the vnhappy chylde, are not so puissant, as are the cruell dolours in the hart of the father soze wounded. And it is no comparison, for the son is deed but one tyme, & þ heuy father dieth euery moment. What wilt thou moze that I shulde say? but that one ought to haue enuy of his deth, & compassiō of my lyfe, bicause in dienge he liueth, & in lyuinge I dye. In yll fortunes in case of lyfe, & in þ subtyll aduerses of fortune, where as her gyles profyteth but lyttell, and her strength lesse, I thynke the beste remedye is to fele it as a man, and dissimule it as discrete and wise. If all thynges as they be felte at herte shulde be shewed outwarde with the tonge, I thinke that the wyndes shuld breake the harte with sighynges, and water all the erthe with wepyng. If the corporall eyes sawe the hurte of þ harte with a true wound I swere to the, there they shuld se moze of a droppe of bloudde sweatynge within, than all the wepyng that is made outwarde. There is no comparyson of the great dolours of the bodye, to the leest peyne that the spirite feleth. For all trauayles of the body, men may fynde some remedy, but if the heuy hart speake it is not harde: if it wepe, it is not sene: if it complayne, it is not beleued. What shall the pooze harte do? Abhorre the lyfe, wherwith it dieth, & desire deth, wherwith it lyueth. The high vertues amonge noble vertuouse people consisteth not al onely to suffre the passions of the body, but also to dissimule them of the soule. They be suche that altereth the humours, and sheweth it not outwarde: It bryngeth a feuer without alterynge the poulce. It altereth the stomake: It maketh vs to knele to the erth, it suffreth the water vp to the mouth, & to take death with out leauyng of the lyfe. And fynally it lengtheth our lyfe, to thentente

I.iii. that

that we shulde haue the moze traueyle, and denyethe vs
our sepulture, to thentente that we shulde not resse vs.
But considerynge, if I be troubled with tribulations, as
well am I lette with cōsolations. For euer I haue eyther
desyre of the one, or werines of the other. I take this
remedye to dissimule with the tongue, and to wepe with
the eyes, and to fele it with my harte, I passe my lyfe, as
he that hapethe to lese all that he hath, and neuer to reco-
uer that is lost: I say this, though ye se me not nowe make
funerall wepynges and waylynges, as I dyd at the deth
of my sonne, yet thynke not but it doth byenne by harte, so
that with the inwarde greate heate is consumed the hu-
myditie of the eyes outwarde, for it byenneth all my spi-
rytes inwarde. Thou mayste knowe what an honoura-
ble father suffrethe to lese a good chylde: In all thynges
the goddes be lyberall, excepte in gyuyng vs vertuous
chyl dren: where there is abundaunce of greatte estates,
there is greatteste scarcitie of good inherytours. It is a
greate hurte to here, and greater to see, how these fathers
clyme to haue ryches, and to se theyr chyl dren discend to
haue bycypousenes. To see the fathers honour theyr chil-
dren, and the chyl dren to infame theyr fathers, yea and
the fathers to gyue resse to theyr chyl dren, & the chyl dren
to gyue trouble to theyr olde fathers, yea and sometyme
the faders dye for sorowe that theyr chyl dren dye so soone,
and we se the chyl dren wepe bycause theyr fathers dye soo
late. What shoulde I saye moze, but that the honour and
ryches that the fathers haue procured with gret thought,
the chyl dren lese it with lyttell care. I am certayne of one
thyng, that the fathers may gather ryches with strength
and crafte, to susteyne theyr chyl dren, but the goddes will
not haue durable that that is begon with euyl intention,
and is founded to the p̄iudice of other, and is possessed
with

with an euyl heyre. And though the heuy destenyes of the father permit, that þ riches be left to theyr chyldre to serue them in all theyr vyces for theyr pastyme, at last accordyng to theyr merytes, the goddes wil that the heyre & heritage shulde peryshe. Marke what I saye, I had two sonnes, Comode & the prince Verissimus, the yonger is deed, that was gretest in vertue. Allway I imagined, that while the good liued, I shuld be poore, & now that the yll remaineth, I thinke to be ryche. I shal shew the why, the goddes are so pyteful, that to a pooze father they neuer gyue yll childe: & to a riche fader they neuer giue a good childe. And as in al prosperite alway there falleth some sinestre fortune, eyther soone or late, therwith fortune doth arme and apparel vs, wherein she seeth we shal fal to our gretest hurt. And therfore the goddes permit that the couetous faders in gaderynge with great trauaile shuld die with that hurt, to leue their riches to their vicious chylde yll implied. I wepe as moch for my childe þ the goddes haue left me, as for hym þ they haue taken fro me. For the small esteeme of hym that liueth maketh immortal memory of him þ is deed. The yll rest & couersatiõ of them that liue cause vs to syghe for the company of them that be deed. The yll is alway desyred for his ilnes to be deed, & the good alway meriteth to haue his deeth bewayled. I say my frend Catulo, I thought to haue lost my wit, whā I sawe my son Verissime die, but I toke comfort ayen: for eyther he of me, or I of hym must se the ende. Considering þ the goddes did but lene him to me & gaue him not, & how they be inheriters, & I to haue the vse of the fruit. For al thing is mesured by the iust wil of þ goddes, & not by our disordinat wils & appetites. I think whan they toke away from me my childe, I restozed him to another, and not that they haue taken myne. But sith it is the wil of the goddes to giue rest to the good childe,

and

and hurte the father bycause he is yll, I yelde thanks to them, for the season that they haue suffred me to enioye his lyfe: And for the pacience that I haue take for his de- the, I desyre them to mytigate therewith the chastisement of theyr yre. And I desyre, sythe they haue taken away the lyfe fro this chylde, to cause good customes to be in the prynce myne other sonne. I knowe what heuynesse thou hast take in Rome for my sorowe. I pray to the goddes to send þ ioye of thy chyl dren, & that I maye rewarde the with some ioye, for that thou hast wepte for my peyne. My wyfe Faustyne saluteth the: and thou woldeste haue compassion to se her: for she wepeth with her eyes, & sigh- eth with her harte, and with her handes hurtech her selfe, and curseth with her tonge. She eateth nothyng on the daye, nor slepeth in the nyghte. She loueth derknesse, & abhorreth lyghte, and therof I haue no meruayle: for it is reasone, that for that was noyrshed in her entrayles, she shulde fele sorowe in the same. And the loue of the moders are so strange though her chylde be deed and layed in se- pulture, yet alwayes she hath hym quicke in her herte. It is a generall rule, that the person that is enterly beloued causeth euer gret grefe at the deth. And as for me I passe the life ryghte sorowfully: though I shewe a ioyful face, yet I wante myrth at my harte. And among wyse men be- ynge sorowfull: and shewyng theyr faces mery, is none other thyng but buryenge the quicke, haupyng no sepul- ture. And I swere by the goddes immortall I fele moche more than I haue sayd. And dyuers tymes me thynke I shuld fall downe, bycause I dare not wepe with myn eies, yet I fele it inwardely. I wolde fayne compyn with the in dyuers thynges. Come I praye the to Byette, to thentet that we maye speake together. And syth it hathe pleased the goddes to take my chylde fro me, that I loued so well,

I wolde counceyl with the that art my louyng frende. But fewe dayes passed there came hyther an ambassadour fro the Rhodes, to whome I gaue the mooste parte of my horses: & fro the forthest parte of Spaine there were brought me. viii. of whiche I sende the. iiii. I wolde they were suche as myghte please the. The goddes be thy safegarde, and sende me and my wyfe som ioye. Marcus Aurelius ryght sorowfull hath wrytten this with his owne hande.

A letter sente by Marc the emperour to Marcurino being at Sannye nowe called Benaunte.

The. ix. letter.



My specialle frende and auncyente companion, a messenger of thyne, & a lackey of myne wente oute together at Capue, the one bare my desyre and affection to the, and the other broughte a letter to me. And if thou loke well, thou mayste se my harte as ful of thoughtes, as I se thy letter ful of complayntes. Thou dost send to comfort me in my feuer tercyan, I thanke the greatly therof, and hit is come in a good season. For the goynge of the feuer out of my poulse, and the ioye of thy letter to my spyrite is all one. And surely if this case be lefte in my hande, and that my feuer retourne not, than thy consolatio shal serue. Lo beholde the mesery of man, that presumeth to take away realines from other, & yet can not take the feuer oute of my bones. Thou knowest well that we loue togeder, and of a longe season thyne ampte hath trusted in me. My trouthe byndethe me, that thyne ylls shoulde be myne, and my goodes thyne. And there is true loue, where be

two bodyes seperate, & but one harte together. And than
 is but a bytter loue, where the hartes be as ferre asonder,
 as the straungenes of theyr persones. Take hede I praye
 the, that our loue be not inuenimed with unkyndnes, nor
 our remembraunce enpoysoned with smalle thoughtes,
 and I beinge another then thou arte here, & thou beinge a-
 nother than I am there, in maner that myne absence with
 thy presence, & my presence with thy absence may speke to-
 gether. Thy messenger hath shewed me the losse of thy go-
 des, and by thy letter I knowethe anguysshe of thy per-
 sonne. And it hath ben shewed me, that thou haste hadde
 a shyppe perished, and that thy factours lyke wyse men,
 to saue theyr personnes dydde throwe thy marchandise in
 to the see. We thynke thy shyppe hath eased the of thy
 charge. But I thynke, as it semeth by the, they threw not
 so many fardels in to the see, as thoughtis into thy harte.
 And accorpyng as thou were before, I shoulde be more
 bounde to serche for thy leade and tynne, thanne for thy
 harte. Thy leade is sonken to the bottome, but thy coun-
 selle is spredde abroad ouer all the worlde. If thou shul-
 dest nowe dye, and thy bodye be opened, for trouthe I
 thynke, that thy hart shuld be rather found drowned with
 thy leade, than alpyue with thy bodye. ¶ Mercurius, at
 this houre thou feleste no malady of any feuer tercian, as
 I doo, for the harte of thy bodye, and the dolour of thy
 spirite causeth the to haue a quartayne. And this euyl is
 not in the body, but in the shyppe, nat on the erthe, but in
 the see: Not with phisicians, but philosophers I counsel
 the to seke helth: For there thy lyfe is drowned where thy
 leade is sonken. Be not angrye, for thoughe thou haste
 not thy lead with the, thy lead hath the with it. Oftentimes
 auarice seketh out the auaricious, and somtyme the auar-
 icious seke auarice. It is shewed me, thou arte sory, by
 cause

cause thy domage can haue no remedye: & doest thou not know, that where no remedy is, thou oughtest to take patience? O Mercurius, nowe thou knowest, y^e whan thou dyddest aduenture thy goodes to the suspicious rockes, and thy desires to the depe walwes of the see, and thy courageous auarice to the importunate wyndes, & thy leed to straunge waters: and as ioyous and desirous as thy factours went forth in trust of wyunnyng, as moche nowe thou arte sure of the losse: and thus is thy desire drowned, and thy hope scaped. Doest thou not remembre, that Socrates castynge into the see not leade but golde, not a lytell, but a great deale, not goodes of other mennes, but of his owne, not by fortune, but by his wysedome, sayinge, I wylle drowne these gylefull ryches, to the entent that they shall not drowne me: but I thynke if a man shulde see the do soo, he shoulde here the saye: O my swete ryches, I had rather drowne my selfe, than other shulde drowne you? This auncient wyse man durste not truste in golde, and thou wylte truste on leade: caste lottes amonge your goddis, he of Athenes and thou of Rome, whiche of you hath most fayled, or elles is most assured? he that caste his golde fro the erthe into the see, or thou that woldest bynng thy leade out of the see vpon the erth? I knowe that the auncient Romayns wyl say it is he, and the present couetous folke wyl say, it is thy selfe, and I thynke in this thou art dyspraysed in the prayse therof, & y^e dyspreised is alowed of all men. Thy messager told me, y^e thou were right sozie and heuy, & cryest out in the nyght, callyng on the goddis, & wakest thy neyghbours, cōplaynyng on fortune. I am soze displeased for thy heuynes, because sorow is nexte frende to thy solptarines, & crunye to cōpany, & heire of desperation. I am soze for thy crienges in the night: for it induceth folie. For the night coueringe

alle the worlde with derknes, thou alone wylte discouer
 thy hart with crienges. I am not plesed, that thou callest
 vpon the goddes, bicaufethey haue taken some thyng fro
 the: bycause thou were aloft, they haue brought the lower:
 No: I am not pleased, that thou awakest thy neighbours
 for thy ryches that caused them to enuye the, thy pacience
 shuld moue them to cōpassion. No: I am not cōtent, that
 thou shuldest so complayn on fortune, for the thing so wel
 knownen of many, shulde not be infamed by one alone. O
 Mercurius remēbre, y with thē, with whom truce is takē,
 thou wylt entre agayn in to the feld of defiāce. We vnbēde
 & thou wylt spend thy speres. Thou neuer camest into the
 felde, and yet thou woldest enioy the triumphe. Al be stop-
 ped, & thou woldest passe surely. Thou yeldest thy selfe to
 fortune: And doest thou not knowe, how she beteth down
 the hygh walles, and defendeth the olde rotten howses, &
 peopleth where there lacketh people, & vnpeopleth where
 as people be: Of enmyes she maketh frendes, and of fren-
 des enmyes, and dispoileth the vanquyschers, & crowne-
 them that be ouercome. Of traytours she maketh trewe
 men, and trewe men she maketh suspecte personnes. And
 fynally fortune is suche a maystresse, that she ruleth real-
 mes, ouercommeth armes, beateth downe kynges, exal-
 teth tyrautes, to the deed gyueth lyfe, and to somme re-
 noume, and to some shame. Why styckest thou to her?
 Doest thou not remembre the worde that the kynge of the
 Lacedemonyens hadde at his gate, sayenge, This is the
 house of the puttyng downe of fortune. In good soothe
 these were hyghe wordes and of greate vnderstondynge,
 he knewe fortune moche better than thou, sith he rekeneth
 his house at fortune dispositions, and not for enheritāce,
 and if he hadde losse any thyng, as thou haste doone, he
 thoughte that she restored it to other as theyrs, and had
 not

not taken his. Reason holdeth confidence to argue thy treason by that she deposeth the fro thy heyghte to be an herpiter: for he that lyueth herpiter death, and not death the lyfe; for all dyeth, and it herpiter al in theyr life. Wylt thou take vengeance of that hath giuen the so moch pain. Therfore take this counsell: be frende to fortunes enemy, the whiche is the graue: Ouer them that be bozne, & not ouer them that dyeth is her empyre. O howe many great lordes haue ben the thoughtes of thy harte soo as many wormes shalbe in thyn entrayles: what greater victorie may be, than she that ouercometh all lyuers, shalbe vanquished of the all onely by death. I say one thing to the, that all onely he that is closed in his graue, is assured of all thynges of this lyfe. Thy messenger shewed me, that this sommer thou woldest come to Rome, and nowe that hit is wynter, thou wylt sayle in to Alexandrye. O my frende Mercurio, whan thy lyfe draweth to an ende, thou begynnest to be auaritious. Thou shalt fynde two cities in this worlde in two extremytees, Rome the heed of vice, and Alexandrye the ende of al vertues. I say of thy merchaundyse, in Rome thou dooste charge thy bodye with vices, and in Alexandrye thy harte with thoughtes. I sweare by the othe of a iust man, that thou shalt haue more desyre of that thou leauest, then contentation of that thou bearest away. Thou remembreth not, howe it is wynter, and thou muste passe the see, and but if the pylottes lye to me, the calme season mooste sure is the bygill of the more vnfortune. Thou wylt saye thy shippes be voyde, & therfore they shall goo more surely, I beleue they shall goo more charged with auarice, than they shal come with silk. What a good chaunge shall it be, if the auarice of Italy myght be chaunged for sylke of Alexandrye. I knowe surely theyr sylke wyl lade a shyppe, and our auarice will

lade a hole flete, Great is that couetyse, whiche the shame
of the worlde dothe not repzeue, noz the feare of deathe
stoppe, noz reason appoynt. I say it, bycause that he whi-
che in suche a tyme offreth hym selfe to peryl, eyther coue-
tyse surmounteth hym, oz elles vnderstandynge faylethe
hym. And bycause I can fynde none other excuse sufficiēt
to excuse me to the, but that thou arte as moche knowen
by the see, as vnknownen to the goddis, that is the vnsta-
ble wawes knoweth the wicked harte and vnrestfull, and
the harde rockes vnruly men: and one wynde knoweth an
other wynde. I pray the shewe me, what thou wylte goo
serche? Wylt thou go into the gulfe of Arpino for to seke
thy leade? Than take hede and thynke how the fyshe hath
eaten thy harde leed, and let them not eate thy softe fleshe.
Thou wylte peraduenture go seke thy goodis with peryl
of thy lyfe, and to leaue renowme at thy deathe. Knowest
thou not, that suche renowme is a salve for a rewme, a
baume for a swoynig, lyght to a blynd person, a nyghtin-
gale to the deafe: I wyll discouer the enbusshement, er
thou fall therein. Thou sekest thought for thy selfe, enuye
for thy neyghbours, spurres for thyn ennemies, wakynge
for theues, peryl for thy body, damnation for thy renome,
the endynge of thy lyfe, flyght for thy frendes, processe for
thy chylzen, and cursynge for thyn heires. And bycause
the feuer hasteth towarde me, I leaue my penne to wyte
any moze. My wyfe Faustyne saluteth the, and is sooze
displeased for thy losse. I sende the a prouision, to the en-
tent that a shyppe maye be gyuen the, bycause thou shul-
dest not lose thy wytte. If thou be in Alexandrie, returne
not by Rhodes, leest the Pyrates take the. The goddis be
thy saufgarde, and to me and other togyue good lyfe, and
good name with straungers.

A letter

A letter sent by Marc the emperour to Antigonus
comforynge hym in a sorowfull case.

The tenth letter.



Arke pzetour Romaine Edyle Censozine, cō-
panyon of the empire, to the Antigonus ba-
nyshed sendeth gretynge to thy part, & good
hope of the senate. I beinge in Champayne,
thy heuy case was shewed me, & at this houre
in the temple of Jupiter was thy pitieful letter delyuerid
to me. I fele as moche as thou felest, and am hurte with
as many woundes, as thou arte separate fro neyghbours
of thyne: in lykewyse I am banyshed fro my wyttes, and
wepe at this houre for the, as thou in my trauayles haste
wepte for me: and I fele for the, as thou in my trauayles
haste wepte for me: and I fele for the as thou haste felte
for me. For to frendes afflycted with sorowe, we ought to
gyue remedy to their persons, and consolation and com-
passion to their hertes. I swere to the by the lawe of good
menne, in this case I haue not ben vncourteys of ancient
tyme, nor cruell at this tyme to fele it. As I redde the ly-
nes of thy letter, I coude not hold my hādis fro shaking,
nor my hert fro sighing, nor myn eien fro weping, to se the
smal thing that thou sendest to demāde, & moche more for
lacke of power to send to the. The grettest infortune of al
infortunes, is whan a man may do lytle, & wold do moch.
And the greattest fortune of all fortunes is, whan a man
may do moch, & wyl do but lytle. In this I wyl se if thou
hast for gotten our amitie, & aduenturest at one tyme, y I
haue trusted in the diuers times. Thou knowest wel, that
the yōge days in my youth al thinges were dischargid fro
my hert, & charged them to thin vnderstōding. Chā it is a
iuste thyng that thy trauayles shuld be discharged fro thy
wyl

wyl and charged vpon my harte. And in this maner thou
 and other shall see and here, that my handes shall be as re-
 dy to remedy the, as my teeres of wepyng are for thy da-
 mage. Nowe come to the rest of euyl fortune. Thou gy-
 uest me knowlege, that the goddes haue taken a dough-
 ter fro the: And the monstrous erthequake hath throwen
 downe thy house, and the senate hath gyuen a sentence a-
 gaynste the, wherby thy goodes are losse, and thy person
 banyshe. The goddes be to me as propyce and meke, as
 they haue ben cruelle to the. I am sooze abashed of that
 my spirite hath conceived in this, as of the losse that thou
 & thy wyfe haue felt, yet am I not abashed of the monstre
 that feareth the people, nor of the trymblyng that hath
 shaken downe thy houses, nor of the fyre that hath brente
 thy goodes, nor of the goddes that haue permytted suche
 thynges to falle: But I am abashed, that there is so mo-
 che malycie in the and in thy neyghbours: For the whiche
 iustely ye do deserue to haue so horryble and cruelle cha-
 stymentes: Beleue me in one thyng Antygonus, and
 doubte it not, if men lyued lyke men, and chaunged not
 the rule of conditours, the goddes wolde then be alway
 as goddes, not to cause vs to be bozne of our mothers to
 gyue vs so cruel chastisemētes by the hand of monstrous
 bestes. Certaynely it is iuste and moſte iuste, that brute
 bestes be chastysed by other brute bestes, and the mon-
 sterous by other monstherouse bestes: and suche as offend
 with greate fautes, to be punyshe with greate paynes.
 I say to the one thyng, the whiche semeth a newe thyng
 to the, and that is, the euyl personne offendethe moze by
 infamy, than the goddes gyue theym payne for it, rather
 than for the offence that is comytted agaynst them, as the
 goddes naturally be pytiefull, and alway haue the name
 therof, so we are alwayes euyl and our euernes & shame-
 full

full werkes deserue to haue soze chastisemēt. The symple folkes call the goddis cruell, in that they se they? chastisement openly, and for they se not our secrete plynnesse. Than the goddis haue reason to complayn, bicause we with our synnes offend them, & they by our cruelnes are infamed. An ineffable rule it is, that the pitieful goddis do not punyſhe extremely with extreme chastysementis, sythe that firste the vicious men do extremely with extreme byces. The tyme that Camillus was banyshed Capue, and that the frenche men posseded Rome, Lucius Clarus consule was sent by the senate to the oracle of Appollo, to demande counsell what the Romayne people shuld do to be delyuered out of their greate peryll. And there this consule was xl. dayes within the temple on his knees befoze Appollo, offerynge right straunge sacrifices, and shedde many teares with wepyng, and yet he coude haue none answer: and so with no smal inconueniencies he returnid to Rome. Than the holy senate sent out of euery temple two prestis and whan they were prostrate on the erthe, Appollo sayde: As one begynninge is correspondent to an other begynnyng, and one place to an other, Meruaylle thou not, though by the reason of an extreme demaunde, I shewed my selfe extreme to answer. Ye Romaynes sithe ye sayle men, ye come to seke to the goddis, for the occasion wherof we wyl gyue you no good counsaile whan ye haue nede, nor permytte that men shulde fauour you whan ye go to seke for them. Regarde my frendes, not for the sacrifices that ye haue offred to me, but for the amytie that I haue had with your fathers in tyme past, I wyl discouer to you a secrete, the whiche is, that ye shall say to the Romayns fro me, vit. thynge. The fyrste is, lette neuer man leaue the goddis for an other man, for feare that the goddes departe fro the myserable man in his most greatest necessi-
 tie.

tie. The.ii. is, that moze auaylleth to holde the parte of one of the goddis immortall, that is in heuen, than with all the mortall men in the worlde. The. iii. is, that menne shulde beware to anoye the goddis, for the ire of the goddis doth moze damage than the iniquitie of all men. The. iiii. is, the goddis neuer forgetteth a mā at any tyme, but if the goddis be forgotten by men a. M. tymes. The. v. is, that the goddis do suffre that one shall be persecuted by an other that is ylle, or they haue firste persecuted one that is good. And therfore ye are stryckē with the feates of the frenche men bicause ye haue persecuted and banished Camyllus your naturalle neyghbour. The. vi. is, if the men wyl haue the goddis fauorable in the tyme of warre, they muste serue them fyrste in tyme of peace. The. vii. is that the pitiefull goddis sendeth not to any realme some extreme chastisement, but if it be for some extreme offences commytted in the same realme. And shewe to the Senate, that I wold make none answer to Lucius Clarus, bicause they sent so yll a man to their god Appollo as ambassadour, the which they ought not to haue done. Ye Romayns take this counsell of me, and if ye fynde it yll, take no moze of me. In a straunge message sende alwayes the most eloquent men, / in your senate sette the wyldest men, / And commytte your hostes to valyant capitayns, / and to your goddis sende alway the most innocent men. The iust goddis neuer appeaseth their ires ageinst vniust mē: but if the requirers be very innocente and meke. For a fowle vessell is not made cleane but with faire water. For with foule hādes it is hard to make the vessell clene. The goddis be so iust, that they wyl not gyue iust thynge but by hādes of iust men. Finally I say, if ye wyl driue the frēche men your ennemies out of your landis, firste caste out the passiōs fro your hartes. Thynke for trouthe, that the goddis

ids wylle neuer drive your ennemies out of Italy tyll Camyllus & al the gyltlesse that be banysched, be returned ageyn to Rome. Certaynly the cruell warres that the goddis permytteth at this tyme present, is but a warnyng of the chastisementes for offences passed. For that the pl men haue done to the inocētis in diuers days, after by þ hādes of other that be pl, the payment is made in one day.

This answer Apollo made to the priestes flamynes that were sent to hym out of Rome, which thing made the senate soze abashed. I remembre that in the booke of the answeres of the goddis, in the annales of the capitol there I founde it: the whiche booke the first day of euery monethe was redde by a senatour, before all the other senatours of the senate. Therfore frend Antigonus, as the god Apollo sayde, if thou wylte not beleue me, that am thy frende, beleue the god Apollo. ¶ Antigonus behold how þ vnderstanding of vayne men are but bestly to the spiritis of the goddis, whiche are secret & hid: and where as they speke, all other ought to be styll. For one counsell of the goddis is moze worth in mockerie, than al the counsels of mē though they be nener so true. Of whens thinkest thou that this cometh: I shall shewe the: The goddis are so perfyte in all bountie, & so wise in all wysedome, and we are so yll in all malyce, & so simple in all symplenes, that though they wold erre, they can not bicause they be goddis: and we þ wolde be assured, erre, bycause we be men. And herin I see what a brute beast man is: for al these mortal men are so entier in their owne wylles, that they wyl lose moze in following their owne opinion, than wyne by the counsel of an other manne: and the worst of all is, that they take suche a bytte in doinge yll, that there is no bydel that can refreyne them. And they are so slowe to do wel, that there is no prycke nor spourre that can moue theym forward.

Al.ii,

Thou

Thou doest complayne of the pitiefull goddis, and of the sacrate senate. Also thou complaynest of ioyfull fortune. Thre thinges there be, that one of theym is inough with one stroke of a stone, to take away thy lyfe, and bury thy renoume. And whan eche of them hath drawen the a part, than all togyther wyl stryke on the with stones. Thou haste taken greatte compeditours, and yet I knowe not what thy worthynes is. I shal shewe the some strengthes and valyantes that the auncient barons had, and therby thou shalte see, what they of this worlde doth holde.

The felaue of Scipio Nasica toke a serpente in the mountayns of Egypt, whiche after it was slayne, flayed, and the skynne mesured in the felde of Mars, it was. vi. score fote of length. Hercules of Thebes proued his force with the serpente Hydra, And in strykynge of one of his heedes, there sprange out. vii. other heedes.

Nylon the gyaunt to execute his strengthe was accustomed euery day to ouertake a bull with rennyng a fote, and caste hym downe, and made many courses with the bulle, as it were an other naked yonge man: and yet, that was moze meruayle, he with one stroke of his fyste slewe the bulle, and the same day wolde eate hym all togyther.

On mount Olympe Cerrastus the giaunt of the naciō of Grece, wraستهled with mo than. l. M. men, and none coude styrene or shake him. And if Homere begileth vs not of this gyaunt, he was of suche fame and dedes, that euery foure yeres, there was a custome, that all nations of the worlde went to wraستهle at mount Olympe. And therof came the rekenynge of the Olympiades.

In the second warre punyke amōg the captiues of sorowful Carthage, Scipio brought a mā, a lord of Mauritayn ryght strong and fierse to behold: and in celebratyng a spectacle in the palayes of Rome, whiche was than of great

great renoume, there were innumerable beastes ronne at: This captiue prisoner lept into the parke, and kylled two beares, and wāstled with a lyon a great whyle: fynally beinge soze hurte with the lyons pawes, he strangled the lyon with his handes. This was a monstuous thynge to se, and nowe it semeth incredyble to be beleued.

In the yere. CCC. Cxx. of the fōūdatiō of Rome, Curio Ledente a renoumed capitayne, comynge fro Tarēt against Pyro kynge of the Epirotes: he was the fyrst þ brought. iiii. Olyphautes to Rome the day of his triumph. Stages and places were made for. xxx. M. men to se the rennyng of these Olyphautes: and in the myddes of the pastyme, the planks brake, & slewe mo than. v. M. persones. And amonge them there was a Numatian, the whiche bare vpon his shulders a planke with mo thanne iii. C. men tyll that he and they were succoured.

Gayus Cesar beinge yonge, fleinge the companye of Sylla, bycause he was perteyninge to Marius, he being among the Rodiens wan his meate with coursyng & runnyng of hōses, with his handes bound behynde hym. It was a monstuous thynge to se, as the annales wytnes, howe he wolde guyde the hōses with his knees so faste, as though he had drawen them with the reynes of their bydelles.

In the. xv. yere that the capitayne of Cartageniēs entered into Italy, our aunclent fathers sente to the realme of frigie for the dyesse Berecynthia mother of the goddis: and whan she arryued at the pozte Hostie, the shyppe that she came in, ranne vpon the lande, and by the space of. iiii. dayes. xxx. M. men, that came in the army coulde not remoue it: by chance came thither one of the virgins bestales named Rea, whiche with her gyrdylle tyed to the shyppe, drew it to the lande as easily as she wolde haue drawen

M A R C V S

Drawen a threde from the dystaffe. And to the intent that we shulde beleue suche thinges, as we here were done in times past, we may know it by dedes done presently in our days. I remembre whan my lord Adrian came fro Dacie he dydde celebrate a spectacle in Rome, wherein there was mo than. li. M. wylde bestis. And the thing most notable þ we haue sene, there was a knyght bozne by the riuer Danubio, who toke a hors, & ranne into the parke, and slewe so many wylde bestes, that there fledde fro him lyons, leopar-des, beares, olyphantes, and we dyd fle fro them: and he slewe mo of them than they dyd of men. These strāge thinges I haue recyted to the, that of all these I am not so abashed as I am of the, to se the redye to doo armes against the goddis, and against the senate, and against fortune. These thre are gyauntes in vertuous valyauntise, and happy at al tymes: and they be suche as commaunde them that commande other. The goddis by their naturallte and power close vp the furies, and gouerne the sterres: And the senate with their Justyce ouercometh realmes, and subdueth tyzantes: and fortune with her tyrāny taketh them that they leaue, and leaueth them that they take: and honoureth them that they dishonour, and chastyseth them that serue her: she begyleth euery person, and no person begyleth her: she promyseth moche, and fulfylleth nothing: her songe is wepyng, and her wepynges is songe, to them that be deed amonge wormes, and to them that lyue in fortunes, at them that be present she spurneth with her fete, and thzeateth them that be absent. All wyse men shyinke fro her, but thou lyke a foole shewest her thy face. Of one thynge I am abashed of the, to complayne of the senate, & yet I meruayle not: for in conclusion they be but mē: yet of trouth in thinges of Justice they ought to be moze than men. And to complayn on fortune, I meruayle

uayle not a lyttel : for in the end fortune is fortune amonge mortalle men . And all the heuens is of an auncient quarrelle, and whan we are besette with mooste greatestt quarrelles, than she striketh vs with most greuous hurtes . I haue great wonder, that thou being a Romain cōplainest on the goddis, as if thou were one of the Barbariens. We Romaines are not so moche renoumed among al nations for the multitude of realmes that we haue ouercome, as we are for the greate churches and seruices that we haue made. Thou complaynest, howe the goddis haue broken thy houses with an erthequake, & haue slayne thy daughter felawe in thy banyschement, and all in one daye. But thou dost not remembre the offences that thou hast comitted in dyuers cases. O my frend Antigone, thou knowest not that out of our yl processe comith forth good sentēces and thou knowest not y our wicked woꝝkes are but a waiking of true Justice: noꝝ thou knowest not, y the fierse chastisement is but a presse that hasteth the great cōmingis of our yonge desires : and knowest thou not that it is nothinge that the goddis do chastise openly, to that they do dissimule in secrete ? Dost thou not know, that in conclusion the goddis be goddis, & the mortalles are mortalles, and they may do vs moꝝe good in one day, thā we can do seruice in a. C. M. yere ? Doest thou not knowe, that the leaste ylle done by the handis of the pitiefull goddis, is moꝝe goodnes than al the welth y may come by the hādīs of the cruel men ? Thā wherof doste thou cōplayn ? I pray the be styl. And sith thou art amonge strāgers, suffre. And thou wilte haue honour, dishonour not the goddis of the Romaines. For the vniust mē do gret iniustyce to speke yl of them that be iust, & specially of the goddis, for they are most iust. Certainly as Cicero saithe, the greatestt faut in a man that is good, is to approue the yl rather than y good: and the

and the moſte greateſt euill in an yl man is to condemne the good for the yl. Thou knoweſt not how iuſte the goddis be. Of trouthe they chaunge not for any prayer, nor leaue not for any thretenynges, nor mocke not by wordes: nor be not corrupt with gyſtes. Great ought thyn offence to be, ſith the erthe hath taken vengeance for the goddis: and thy innocente doughter hath payde the faute, for the offence of her father. O Antygonus, doſt thou not know that in all thynges the goddis may werke after their own opinion and wyll, excepte in Juſtyce: for in that they be goddes of all they oughte to be egall to all? And if they bountie doth bynde them to rewarde vs for goodnes, no leſſe their iuſtyce conſtreyneth them to chaſtiſe vs for our ylles. It is a greatte cuſtome, and a ryghtouſe Juſtyce, He that wyllynge draweth to synne, ageinſte his wyll is drawen to peyne. I ſay it bycauſe thy doughter hath leſſe to do ſome good openly, or elles ſhe hath done ſome ſecret ylle, ſythe in her youth her lyfe is bereued from her father for enſample of chaſtiſement to other. And in the ende of thy letter thou complayneſt, that the peyne that men doth to the, is moze greater than the offences that thou haſte done to the goddis. And if it be thus frende Antygone, thou oughteſt to haue no diſpleaſure, but pleaſure, no heynynes but ioye. And I ſwere to the by the immortall goddes, I wolde gladly chaunge my lybertie for thy captiuitie, and the ſtate of Rome for thy banymiſment of Syccile. And I ſhall telle the why: He is honoured amonge them that be honoured, that fortune abateth without faute: and he is ſhamed amonge them that be ſhamed, that fortune inhanceth without merite. For the ſhame is in the inconuenientes that is done to vs by men, but it is of the offence that we commytte ageinſt the goddis. And in lyke caſe the honourable honour reſteth not in the dignities that we haue

haue, but in the good woꝝkes, wherby we meryte. And
therby, the woꝝdes seme trewe, that the. xi. emperour of
Rome bare wꝛitten in a ryng on his finger, whiche sayde
thus: Moze is he to be honoured, that deserueth honour,
than he that hathe it and deserueth it not. These woꝝdes
are greatly to be noted, and spoken by a great loꝝde. Tha
retourne to the purpose. Thou complaynest of the wꝛon-
ges and greues that men do to men, and leue the goddis,
I haue no meruayle: foꝝ as the goddis do neuer vniuste
thynges, so the menne neuer lyghtly do any thyng iuste.
Note this that I say, and foꝝgette it not. The senate gy-
ueth an open peyne, and publysheth the secrete faulte, in
suche maner that with the peyne they hurte vs, and with
the faute they shame vs. The goddis are moze pitiefull:
foꝝ though they giue vs peyn, yet they kepe the faut close.
Al my frende Antigone, though the goddis gader togyder
the slouthe and wyckednes, that we commytte secretely,
Beleue me and doute not, the goddis gyue lyfe to many
the whiche men bereueth. Therfoze I thinke, that thou
shuldest thynke and wyshe, that syth the goddis haue suf-
fred the ylles that thou hast done secretly, that thou maist
suffre open chastysment that men haue gyuen to the. Foꝝ
otherwise thinkynge to put away the peyne, thou shalt a-
byde charged with infamy. I haue wꝛiten to the this lōge
epystle, to thentent that thou shuldest haue some thyng to
passe the tyme with. Certaynly the greatestt easement to
ease hym that is in trauayle is to exercyse the wauerynge
harte with some good occupations. I wyll wꝛite no moze
to the at this tyme, but as touchynge thy banyshement,
truste me I shal brynge the at one with the senate. I sende
Danutius my secretarie to the, gyue as moche credence to
his woꝝdes, as to my letters. And he bryngeth a gowne to
the, and therwith my harte and wylle foꝝ to comfozte the.

Am

Salu-

Salutation, peace, and good age be with the: and the ire of the goddis and yll fortune be separate fro me. Marke, my household, wyfe, and chyldren salute the as thyn own. And we salute all thy family as our owne. Thoughe the halfe of my letter be not of my hande, comforte the, for my harte is entierly thyne. Thou knowest howe I was greuously hurt in the warres of Dacye in my hande, and in moyste wethers one of my fyngers slepeth. Thus I make an ende as always thyn owne.

CAn other letter sent by Marc the emperour to the same Antygonus ageinst cruell iuges.

The leuenth letter.



Marc beinge sicke to the Antygonus beinge banished, I desire salute for hym, and reste for the. To eschewe the enuious trauaylles of Rome, and to se certayne bookes of Hebrewe that were brought to me fro Helya, I came hyther to Sanya: I made great haste in my iournayes, howe be it at Salon the feuer toke me: and the .xx. day of June I receyued thy seconde letter, and the same houre the feuer quartayne toke me. I thynke none of vs bothe had the better hande. For neyther my longe letter dydde put away thy trauayle, nor thy short letter dyd put away my feuer. And though as now the felyng of thy trauaile minisheth that I had, the more brenneth the desire to remedy the. Therfore I wyll say some thinge to the, but not that I fynde any consolation that thou haste nede therof. In the lawe of Rhodes I haue founde these wordes: we commaunde, that none be so hardy to gyue counsell with out remedy: for the wordes to him y^e is in trouble gyueth smal consolation, whā there is no remedy. Also the herte that is in sorow, hath more rest shewing his own greues, than

then herynge the consolation of other. / Thou sayest in thy letter, that the césures are right rigorous in that realme: and therfore all that nacion hath y^el wyl with the senate. I beleue well they haue good occasion therof: for dishonoured mē make the ministres of Justice to be rigorous, and namely they of that yle. For there is an ancient prouerbe that sayth, lyghtly all these y^eles, are y^el, and the Sycciliēs worst of all. Now adays the y^el ar myghty in their y^elnes, and the good with they^r vertues are kepte so close, that if there be not some bydel by Justyce, the y^el shuld possede al the worlde, and the good shuld synyshe shortly. But finally to consider how vnable we be bozn, & ar enuironed with so many y^eles, beinge subiect to so many miseries, I meruaile not of the inhumanities that the humain people committeth: but I am ashamed of the cruell Justice that our Censures do, not as Romayns, but as cruel tyrantis. Of one thyng I am sore abashed, and greatly it troubleth my wittes, seyng naturally & of right the Justice of the goddis is good, and we offēdyng them, & we that haue iustice but lend to vs, yet we glorify vs to be cruell: so y^e the goddis do pardon iniuries done to thē, wherby fame of mekenes abideth to them: & we chastyse the iniuries of other, wherby we wyn the fame of tirantis. In good soth there is no mā amonge men, nor humsyn amōg the humayns, but he is as a brute beast, & wylde amonge wylde beastis, that nameth him self to be of the fleshe, and hath no pitie to hurte other fleshe. Nor considereth not, that the goddis hath made hym a meke beast & lowly by nature, & he becometh a fiers serpent by malyce. In the .xii. yere of the foundation of Rome, Romulus the first kyng sent a cōmandement into al places & realmes nygh to him: as to the Volgues, Samites, & Rusiens, to Capue, Tarentis, & Albanoy: to thentent that all such as were banyshe troubled

Am.ii,

and

and persecuted in their realmes, shulde come to Rome, & there they shulde be receyued and well entreated: and excepte the hystories lye, Rome was moze inhabyted in ten yeres, than Babylon or Cartage in a. C. yeres. O glorious herte of Romulus that suche a thyng inuented: and glorious tongue, that suche a thyng commaunded: and glorious was the cite or countrey, that fouled them vpon suche mercye and pitie. I haue founde dyuers letters of dyuers realmes of the orient, sent forth mencionyng thus: We the kynge of Parthes in Assie, to the conscript fathers of Rome, and to the happy people of Italy, and vnto all theym of that empyre, haupyng the name of Romaynes, and surname of clemency, Salutation to your persones. We sende peace and tranquillitie to you, as we demande the same of the goddis.

Thus than regarde, what glorious tytyle of Clemency our predecessours Romaynes hadde: and what example of clemency they haue left for al emperours to com. Take this for certayne, that the Censures or minysters of Iustyce, forgettyng the pitie of the Romayns, shall be reputed cruelle, as Barbariens, Nor Rome shall nat repute them as her naturall chyldren, but as cruell ennemyes: and not for augmentours of the common welthe, but infamous and robbers of clemency.

Whan I was of the age of. xxxvii. yere, beinge in the yle of Crete, nowe called Cypres, in wynter tyme, There was a mountayne called Archadio, wher vpon foure pyl- lers were sette, and a sepulchre of a kyng of worthy fame and in his lyfe pitiefull and ful of mercy: and as one shew- ed me, there were certayne wordes written in greke let- ters rounde aboute the sepulchre saying thus: I haue ta- ken to me alway this counsaile, where as I myghte do but lytel good, I neuer dyd harme: & that that I myghte haue

haue with peace, I neuer stroue for: Suche as I myght ouercome with prayer, I neuer feared with thretnynges: where as I myght remedy secretely, I dyd neuer chastise it openly: them that I myght correcte with warnynges, I neuer hurted with beatynges: Suche as I chastysed openly, I fyrst aduertysed secretely: and fynally I neuer chastysed one, but I forgaue foure: I am right sorowfull bycause that I haue chastysed, and am glad bycause that I pardoned, In as moche as I was bozne as a man, and my fleshe is here eaten with wormes, and bycause I haue lyued vertuously in my lyfe, my spirite shal now rest with the goddis.

Howe thynkest thou my frende Antygonus, what an Epitaphye was this? And howe glozious was his lyfe, sythe the memorie of hym vnto this daye abydeth so immortal? And as the goddis may helpe me in al goodnes, and defende me fro yl, I haue not so great delyte at Pompey with his armye, nor at Caius Julius Cesar with his Gaules of France, nor at Scipio with his Affrycans, as I haue at the king of Cypres with his sepulchre. For that kynge hath more glozie in that mountayne beinge deed, than all the other had in all their lyues with all their triumphes, that euer they had in Rome. I say not, but that the wyckednes of yll people shulde be chastysed: for without comparyson, he is wors that fauoureth the yll, than he that commytteth the yl: for the one procedeth of weaknesses, and the other of malice: but it semeth to me and to al other that be wylse, that as the syn is natural and the chastysement voluntary, so oughte the rygour of Iustyce to be temperate: So that the mynisters shulde shewe compassion rather than vengeance: wherby the trespassours shulde haue occasion to amende theyr synne passed, and not to reuenge the iniurie presente. O whatte places and

Am.iii.

realmes

realmes haue ben losse, not for the ylnes that the y^e people hath comitted, but rather by the disordinate Justice that the ministers of iustice haue exercised: Thinking by their rigour to correcte the damages passed, wherby hath rylen sclaunders and strife, neuer none such hard of afore. Whā a p^rince sendeth any person with the charge of Justice, he ought to say to hym these wordes, suche as August Cesar sayd to the gouernours of Affrike: I put not the confidence of myn honour into thy handes, nor comitte to the my iustyce to be a destroyer of innocentis, nor an executour of synners: but that with one hande thou shuldest helpe the good to maynteine them therin: & with the other hande to helpe them that be yll to reyse them fro their noughtynes. And myn intention is to sende the forth to be a p^rceptour of orphans, and an aduocate for wydowes, a surgien for all woundes, a staffe for the blynde, a father to euery persone, to speke fayre to myn ennemies, & to reioyce my frēdes. In this maner I wolde thou shuldest vse thy selfe in euery place, so that by the fame of pitiefulnesse, such as be myn shalbe in rest & content to be my subiectis, & that strāgers shalbe desirous to come & serue me.

This instructiō August Cesar gaue to a gouernour of his, bicause it was shewed him, that he was somewhat cruel in y^e realme. Certainly they were short wordes, but they were right cōpendious: And wold to god they were written in the hartes of our iuges. Thou writest, how that ile is soze troubled by reson of the censures & iuges therof. It is a noyfull trouayle to receyue the auctoritie of Justice into the hanbe of an vntust man: and it is a thyng not to be suffred, that one with tirāny shuld tyrannysse dyuers other: not with the lyfe, but with the auctoritie to correcte good mē, therby to be called a good cēsure. The auctoritie of his office giue to hym by his p^rince ought to be his accellarie

cessarie, and his good lyfe for principall: in suche maner, that by the rectitude of his iustice the y^el shuld fele the execution therof. Al that haue auctorite shuld tempze it with wisdomes & purenes of liuyng. It is a great goodnes to the cōmon welth, and great confusion for him that chastiseth with payne, whā the miserable is chastised, & he that doth chastise seeth nothyng in hym wherby he hath deserued to be chastised. And cōtrary, it is great slackenes in a prince to cōmaunde, and great shame to the cōmon welth to consent, and great inconuenientes and reprofe to the iuge to execute: whan a pooze wretche for a smal faute is put to more payne for the same smal faut done in one day, than is giuen to them that be great for many tyrannies, that they haue committed during their life. These be they that peruerthe the common welth, and sclandze the worlde and put them selfe out of auctoritie.

In the. iiii. yere that great Popeie toke Elia, the which is now Jerusalem, the same tyme being there Valerius Graccus, came thyder an Hebrewe or a iewe, as the annales shewe, he came to the senate to cōplayn of the wronges & greues that were done to him in that lond, & so in doing his errāde in the name of al that pūnce, he said these wordes: O fathers conscript, O happy people, your fatal destenies pmitting, & our god leuing vs with Jerusalem, lady of al Asie, & moder to y^e Ebzues, to be in seruage to Rome, & to the Romains: Certeinly gret was y^e power of Popey, & moch more the force of his armi to take vs. But therfore I say, that gretter was the yze of our god, & without comparison the multitude of our synnes, wherby we dyd merite to be lost. I wold ye knew one thig, & it soze displeth me, y^e ye Romaynes haue not proued it by experiece. That is, our god is so iust, y^e if amōge vs there had bē. x. iust mē, & amōge. l. M. y^ell, one good, he wold haue pdoned al y^e y^el.

And

And than ye Romaynes shuld haue sene as the Egypties
 dyd, howe our god alone may do moch more than al your
 goddes togyther. And certaynely as longe as we be syn-
 ners, so longe ye shall be our lordes. And as longe as the
 pre of the Hebꝛues god doth endure, so longe shall the po-
 wer of the Romayns last. And bycause in this case I fo-
 lowe one way, and by your secte ye folowe an other way,
 ye can not retourne to honour one god onely, nor I to ho-
 nour dyuers goddis. I wyll leue this matter to the god,
 by whose power we haue ben nourished, & by whose boũte
 we be gouerned, and retourne to the case of our embassade.
 Ye know what peace hath ben betwene Rome and Iudee,
 and betwene Iudee and Rome, we with you, and ye with
 vs. In all thynges we haue obeyed you, and ye vs. No
 iust thinge we haue denyed you. And bicause there is no-
 thinge more desyred of the people, and lesse put in opera-
 tion than is peace, And there is nothyng more abhorred,
 by the which abhorryng euery mā lyueth, thā is warre: I
 do warn you of this with trouth, prouyde therfore iustice,
 put them away þ̄ folowe your wylls to do vs yll. And let
 vs haue no suche malicious folke as incyteth vs to rebel.
 The greatestt signe and strongest pyller of the peace is to
 put away the perturbbers of pece. What profite is it to say
 peace peace, & in secrete to say warre warre? I say this bi-
 cause ye haue banished the eldest son of king Idumeo out
 of Lyon for his demerites, and ye haue sente in his stede
 Campanius, Marcus, Ruffus, and Valerius Graccus
 for presidentes. They be .iiii. plagues, or .iiii. pestilences, so
 that the leest of them were sufficient to enpoyson the hole
 empire of Rome, than moche soner our myserable realme
 of Palestynne. What thyng can be more monstuous, thā
 that the iuges of Rome shulde sende men to put away yll
 customes fro them that be yll, and they them selves at the
 inuen-

inuentours of newe vices? What greater shame and inconvenience is in Justice, than they that haue auctoritie to chastise wanton youth, to glozifie theym selfe to be capytaynes of theym that be wylde? What gretter infamie can be to Rome, than they that ought to be vertuous and iust to gyue example to other to be yll and vicious? I lye pf they haue not so wrythen and enlarged the discipline of Justice, that they haue taught the youth of Iudee suche vices, that hath not ben harde of by our fathers, nor red in no bokes, nor sene in our tyme. O Romayns beleue me in one thyng, what counselles Jude hath taken of Rome at this houre lette Rome take of Iudee. Many realmes are gotten with myghty capitayns, and moche shedynge of blode, and ought to be obserued with a good iuge, not in shedynge of blode, but in gettynge of hertes. Certainly the iudge that wylnneth moo good wylls than money, oughte to be beloued: and he that serueth for money, and loseth the good wylls, for euer oughte to be abhorred as pestylence. What thynke ye is the cause nowe adays, that your presidentis be not obeyed in a iust cause? Of a trouth it is bycause, that fyrste they commaunde vniust thinges. The commaundementes that be iust, maketh soft & meke hertes, and suche as be vniust, maketh men cruel. We be so myserable in all myseries, that to hym that commaundeth well, we obey yll: and the more yll they commaunde, the more obeyed wolde they be. Beleue me in one thinge, that of the great lyghtnes and small sadnes of the iuges is brought vp fere and great shame in the subiectes. We that be iewes think our self wel aduertysed (by the mouth of our god that sayth) euery prince commyttinge charge of Justice to him that he seeth vnable to execute the same, or dothe not principally for Justyce sake, accomplyshe iustyce, but dothe it for his owne profyte, or els to please the

An partie:

partie: thinke surely, whan the prince dothe not regarde this, by some way that he thynketh leaste of, he shal se his honour infamed, his credēce lost, his good minished, and some great chastysment come to his house. And bycause I haue other thynges to say in secrete, I wyl conclude as nowe openly. Finally I say, if ye wyl conserue your realme longe tyme, for the whiche ye haue put your selfe in great perylles, kepe and maynteine Iustice, and we shal here you reuerence: Commaunde as Romayns, and we shal obey as Hebrues: Gyue vs a president, that is mercy full, and all our realme shal be obedient: Be not to cruell to chastyse our mekenes, and we shal be the moze obediēt to your preeminēce: I require you desire vs oz ye cōmand. For in desiring & not commaundyng ye shal fynde loue as fathers to the chylbern. And no treason as of lordes to seruantes. All these thinges sayd the iewe, wherof the senate had great meruayle. And forthwith the senatours prouyded for.iii.iuste thinges. The one was, that all these wordes shulde be put in wrytinge, to thentent that they shulde be put in the boke ordeyned to wryte in all good sayenges of all straunge ambassadours. The second to put downe Graccus Valerius, bycause he was so cruel, and in hatred with the people. The third they prouided Pylate of Lion to be presidente of that realme. Than howe semeth it to the my frende Antigonus, dyd not this Hebrewe speake hyghly? O Rome without Rome, that of Rome holdeth nothyng but the walles, and arte fallen into vnrchristie vices. what dyddest thou whan such a shame was laide to the by an Hebrewe in the myddes of the senate? Certainly the greattest plage amonge all plages, and the greattest losse amonge all losses, is whan the prince hath his lyfe so without lyfe, his iustice so without iustice, his dedes soo without dedes, & in all euyl so bolde & hardy, & in al goodnes

nes such a coward, that rightwysely his owne men do accuse him, and straungers repzeue hym, none dothe loue hym, but al hate him, and his frendes wyl not helpe hym, & his ennemies wyl persecute hym: They that be present refuse his goodnes, and they that be absente procure his yll: They that lyue take away his lyfe, and the deade his sepulchre. Nowe to retourne to the purpose of our iuges, I pray the Antygonus, shewe me thy mynde, wherof cometh nowe a dayes the great sclaunder of the people, the infamy of the prince, and the peryll in Iustyce? If thou knowest it not, harken and I shall shewe the, wherby all goth out of order. They that be priue are so importunate, and the princis not refusinge them: they begplyng and he suffringe to be begiled: The one with couetyse, and the other with ignozance, doth gyue to suche that he shoulde take fro, and take away fro suche as he shulde giue vnto: and honoureth them that dishonoureth hym, kepeth the ryght wyse in prizon, and delyuereth the vicious, dispiseth experte persones, and trusteth them that be leude: and finally they prouide not offices to men, but men to offices. They ordeyne the vniust to minstre Iustice, and do iniurie to them that be iust. Yet here and I shall shew the moze. These myserables after that they be appoynted and sette in their offices, wherof they be nothinge worthy, moze for their auctozitie than for meryte of their persons, they are feared with their extreme iustice. They take on them the state of greatte men with the sweatte and labour of pooze men. They supply with malyce that they wante of discretion. And worst of al, they mesure the Iustice of other me with their owne propre vtillitye. Yet harken and I shall say moze. After that these ideotes se them selfe in the gulfe of these bayn besinneses, thā they lacke the reyne of knowledge, & the sayles of wysedome, & the ankers of experience,

noꝝ can not remedy a small matter, but inuent other moze greater, altringe and troubling the peace foꝝ their owne particular welth. They wepe foꝝ their owne harme, and no lesse foꝝ the welth of other, and finally lese them selves. And therfoze they aduenture them selfe into the gulfes, & inflame their lozdes, that haue gyuen them suche offices, to giue to suche as hath not deserued them. Thou mayste know, that the beginnyng of them is pryde and ambition, and their myddell is enuye and malyce, and their ende is dethe and distruction. And if my counsell were taken, suche shulde haue no credence with pꝛinces oꝝ gouernours, but as sclaundꝛed men to be separate, not all onely fro the common welthe, but fro their lyues. Surely great is the couetyse of them that be shamelesse, which without shame demaunde offices of the senate oꝝ pꝛincis: but it is a moze boldnes of malyce foꝝ the pꝛinces to gyue them. In this and in other thynges these are soo dampnable, that neyther the feare of the goddis doth withdraue them, noꝝ the pꝛince doth not refreyne them, noꝝ vengeaunce dothe not lette them, noꝝ the common welthe doth not accuse them, and aboue al other reason dothe not commande them, noꝝ the lawe subdue them.

TO my frende Antygonus note this worde that I write in the ende of my letter. In the yere of the foundation of Rome. vi. C. xlii. as the Romayns as than in the woꝛlde had dyuers warres, as Gayus Celiu ageynste theym of Trece, and Gneo Cordo his bꝛother against Sardyne, Junius Sylle ageinst the Umbꝛes, Minutius Ruffus ageynst the Macedonyens, Seruilio Scipio ageynste the Lusitayns, and Marius consull ageinst Jugurtha kyng of the Numidiens, It befell so that Boco kyng of Maurytayne fauoured Jugurtha, and vpon them triumphed Marius, and they laden with chaynes were led afoze his chariot,

chariotte, not without great cōpassion of them that sawe it. After this triumph done, incontinent the same daye by counsell of the senate, Jugurtha was beheaded in prison, & his companyon Bocus had pardone of his lyfe, and the cause was, It was a custome none to be putte to Justice, but firste the auncient booke shulde be serched, to se if any of his p̄decessours had done befoze any seruice to Rome, wherby the captiue shulde meryte to haue pardon of his lyfe: and than it was founde, that the graūtfather of Bocus came to Rome, and made gret orations befoze the senate, by whose wordes and sentences, his said newew merited to haue pardon of his lyfe: and amonge other of his sayings, he rehersted these verses that sayd: what is that realme, where is no good amonge the yll, noz yll amonge the good? what is that realme, that hath their houses ful of good simple persons, and banysheth away al wysdom? Or what is that realme that suche as be good are cowardes, and the yll hardy? or what is the realme, where al peassible are displeased, and the sedycious praysed? what is that realme, that sleeth them that wolde their welthe, and are angry with them that wold helpe their yll? or what is that realme, that permytteth the proude poze folkes, and the ryche tyrantes? or what is that realme, where they al know the euyl, and none procureth any goodnes? or what is that realme, where suche vices are openly comyncted, that other realmes feare to doo secretely? or what is that realme, where as all that they desire they procure, and all that they do procure, they attayne, and all that is yll they thinke, & all that they thynke they say, & all that they saye they may do, and all that they may do, they dare do, and put it in operation that they dare do: and worst of al, there is none so good to resyst it. In suche a realme there shuld be none inhabitaunt. For within short space the yll men

An.iii.

Shall

M A R C V S

Shall be chaunged, or elles dispeopled of good men, or the goddis wyl confounde them, or the tirantis shal take the. Dyuers thinges were said, the which I passe ouer at this tyme. Howe thinkest thou Antigone? I sweare by the immortal goddis, that my hert breketh to thinke of the great shame that was laid vpon Rome by such wryting as was lefte to them by the grauntfather of this kynge Bocus. This my letter I wold thou shuldest rede in secrete to the pretours: & if they amende not, we shall fynd the meanes to chastise them openly. And as touchyng thy banysmēt I promyse the to be thy good frende to the senate, that we may ioy our auncient amitie togyther. And to get the out of that yle, Certainly I shal do my diligēce. I haue wrytten to my secretarie Panuti⁹ to delyuer the. ii. M. sexters to releue thy pouertie: and thus I sende the my letter to comfort thy heuy hart. I say no moze but the goddis giue the cōtentation of that thou woldest haue ioy & reste to the person. And all corporall euyls, cruel enmies, and fatalle destenies be separate fro me Marke. For the behalfe of my wife Faustyne, saluteth the and thy wyfe Ruffa: She is thyn, and I am thyn. With visitation of ioy I haue receiued thy letter, & thankefully I sende the myn. I shall not cease to desire to se thy persone in Italy, and there in Sicyle to leaue my feuer quartayn.

A letter sent by Marcus to Lambert gouernour of the yle of Helespōte, whā he dyd banyshe the vacabūdis fro Rome. The. xii. letter.

MArke emperour of Rome, lord of Asie, cōfederate with them of Europe, frende of theym of Affrike, ennemye of the Maures: To the Lambert gouernour of the ile of Helesponte, sendeth to the of his part cōtentatiō and

and suretie fro the sacrate senate. I am furred with þ fures that thou hast sent me, & am clothed with thy matell, & am right well pleased with thy greyhoundes: if I hadde thought, that thin absence fro Rome shuld haue procured so moche fruite in that yle: longe ago I shuld haue determined as well for thy profyte as for my seruyce. I sent to the in demaunding but small thinges in my spozte, and thou haste sent me many thynges in earnest. In good soth thou hast better propozcioned thy seruice with noblenes, than I to demaunde with my couetise. For if thou remembre, I sent to the for a doseyne skynnes of furre, and thou hast sent me. xii. doseyns: and I dyd send but for. vi. greyhoundes, and thou hast sent me. xii. Truly in this case my pleasure is double. For here in Rome thy great largesse is publyshed, and my smal couetise there in Helesponto. And bicause I am sure thou hast great thankses of me, I pray to god to sende the salute and helthe. And that fortune be not denyed the at a good houre. I sende the. iii. barkes of mayster foles, & yet I haue not sent the al. For if I had banyshe all the fooles in Rome, we shuld haue peopled vs with a newe people. These master foles haue ben so wply to teche foly, & the Romayn youth so apt to lerne, though they be but in. iii. barkes their disciples wold lade. iii. M. Carrakes. I haue great meruayle of one thyng, and my hart sclaundreth the goddis: for I se wel that erthquakes casteth down howses, & gret waters bereth away brydges frostes freleth the vines, sodein thondring and tempestes breketh down toures, scarfite of water causeth derth, corrupt aire maketh an ende of the that be wise: & yet there is nothyng that can make an ende of these fooles. All thinges at this day faileth at Rome, except all only these idell trewandes, gestours, tomlers, players, or dromslayes, iuglers, & suche other, of whom there is inow & to many.

O what

What a seruice shuldest thou doo to the goddis, & what
 profyte to Rome, that for thre barkes ful of foles to sende
 one lade with wyse men: One thing I wyl say, that with
 the bones of the wise men that yle is halowed, that aunci-
 ently were banished by the malice and enuye of theym of
 Rome: if thy smellynge wittes be not lost, as Italy stin-
 keth of them that be synple, so that yle smelleth swete of
 wyse men. whan I came fro the warres of the Parthes,
 the.iiii. yere of myn empire, I passed into that yle by dy-
 uers sees to visite the sepulchres of ancient wise men: and
 in the citie of Dorbite, in the myddes therof, lyeth Quide
 that was banished by August, and vnder the mountayne
 Arpines is the sepulchre of the renoumed Armeno orator
 banished by Sylla: at the porte of Argonaut thou shalte
 fynde the bones of Colliodrus recapituler of the antyke
 lawes, that was banished by Nero the cruell: and in the
 felde of Elinos, vnder a marble, is the pouders of Sylliso
 Seteno, that was so well lerned in the. vii. artes lyberal,
 as though he had newe founde them, he was banished by
 the Marians. I say for trouth, thou shalte fynde it thus,
 for with my knees I haue touched their sepulchres. And
 all that season my tender eyes were as fulle of water, as
 their bones were harde in the erthe. These were not ba-
 nished for no vilanies that they had done: but it was the
 ineryte of our forefathers, that they wolde be priuated fro
 the company of so noble barons: and we their chylderne
 fro the powder of so renoumed sages. I can not tell whi-
 che is the greater, the fantasie that I haue to thyn yle, or
 the compassion of miserable Rome. I pray the as my fréd,
 and cominaunde the as my seruant, to regarde the places
 that I haue shewed the. For it is a iuste thyng, and most
 iuste, that suche cities be priuileged by them that lyueth,
 whan they are peopled with suche deade wyse men.

And

And moze ouer Centurion knoweth by wordes the heuye case that these prisoners had with vs, and we with theym the day of the feaste of mother Berecynthia. I say, I sawe not that day so moch cruelte in Rome, as the infamie that we caused in all the empire. Rome, that neuer was overcome by them that were valyant and vertuous, that daye we sawe ouergone and troden vnder fete by those fooles. The walles of Rome that were neuer touched by the Deniens, had their lowpes full of armed trewandes: Rome that tryumphed ouer all realmes, was tryumphed with tomlers and iuglers. I am so abashed in this case, that I wote not what to say or wryte. Yet one thing comforteth me, that sith that Rome & the Romaynes vniustly do not reioyce but with these fooles: she and the famous wyse men iustly shalbe chastised for these foles: and in this the goddis shall not be displeased, that syth Rome laugheth at these trewandes and mockeries, one day she shal wepe with these tomlers and iuglers. I banyshe all these for euer fro Rome, not for the bloudde that they haue shedde, but for the hartes that they haue peruerterd: & not for occasion of any that be deed, but bycause they were masters of folyes. Without cōparison it is greater offence to the goddis, and moze domage to the cōmon welthe, these trewandes to take away the wyttes fro wyse folkes, than the murtherers to take away mens lyues. If the grettest gift amonge all giftes of Fortune, be to kepe a good witte, let no man presume to be of a restefull vnderstondynge, that is an extreme frende to these trewandes. Beleue me one thinge. As one byrde loueth an other, and one beast an other, and one wyse man an other: so one foole loueth an other foole.

¶ I remēbre on a day as I reuolued the registers in the Capitoll, I redde a ryght meruaylous thyng of Quet?

Do

a famous

a famous oratour, which is buryed in the yle of Helespote on the mount Adamantine, Whan great Scipio came fro the warre of the Peniens, better accompanied with hungrye stozen trewandes, than with valyant capitayns, he sayde to hym: Of trouth it is a great shame to the, and a small honour to the senate, that thou that haste ouercome the wyse Affres, and beinge soo wyse thy selfe, and of the blode of the wyse Komayns, wylte be accompanied with these trewandes and fooles. In that vnhappy realme all the wise men coude not ouercome one that was thoughte so myghty amonge so many fooles. I say to the, that thy wylt is in moze peryl here in Rome, thā thy life in Affrike.

These were good wordes, and not of no worldely mallice, and within a shorte whyle after, and by dyuers light persons, and for a small occasion, this pooze olde oratour and ryche philosopher, by the frendes of Scipio, was banished Rome, and sent into that yle. Than behold Lambert, lette vs retourne to these iuglers, and trewandes. Whan they are landed in that ile, lette them go frank and free, soo that they vse not their accustomed toyces. Thou shalt constrayne them to labour, and chastise them if they be ydell. For these myserable folke, fleinge from iust trauayle, take on them vniust idelnes, & conuert mo mē with their trewandysse, than if open scoles of bacabundes were kept. There is nothyng that our forefathers dyd, that displeth me so moche, as the suffraunce of these vnthriftie trewandes.

In the yere. CC. xxvi. of the foundation of Rome, in an horrible pestilence in Italye, to reioyce the people, was fyrst founde out the inuention of Theatres, by the aduise of the trewandes. It is a shamefulle thyng to here, that the pestilence durynge but two yeres, and the rage of these vnthriftes, to dure. iiii. C. yeres.

Lam-

Lamberte, I beleue well that the complayntes, that these prisoners haue begon here, shall neuer haue an ende there. Howe be it I care not: for the grudge of them that be ylle, iustifieth the iustyce and sentence of them that be good. As the mayster of Neron sayde: as moche as the shame of synne ought to be fledde of them that be good, so moche prayse is the infamy of the yll. I shall telle the one thyng, to the intent that the chastysment shulde not seme cruell to the: That sithe theemperours of Rome are full of clemency to straungers, it is no reason they shulde be to sharpe to their owne. Sythe fatall destenies hathe brought me into this worlde, I haue sene nothyng more vnprofytable to the common welthe, nor greater folie in them that be lyght of condicions, nor a worse inuention for vacabūdes, nor a more cold reuocation of mortal folk, thā to lerne of these gamners & trifelers, & such other iuglers. What thing is more monstuous, thā to se wise men reioyce at the light pastyme of these baine trifelers? what gretter mockerie can be in the capitol, than the folyshe sayinge of a gestour, to be praysed with greatte laughter of wyse mē? what greater sclaūders can be to princis houses, than to haue their gates alwayes open to receyue in these fooles, and neuer open to wise folkes? what greater crueltye can there be for any persone, to giue more in one daye to a fole, thā to his seruantis in a yere, or to his kyn all his lyfe? What greter inconstancie can be, thā to want men to furnishe the garysouns and frontiers of Illirico, and these trewandes to abide at Rome? what lyke shame can be to Rome, thā y the memoirie shalbe left more in Italy of these tōblers, trewandes, pypers, singers of gestes, tabourers, croudes, dācers, mōmers, gesters, & iuglers, thā y renome of capitains with their triūphes & armes. And whā these caitifes went all about in Rome in sauetye, sowynge their

lewdenes, and gaderyng of money: the noble barons and capitaynes went fro realme to realme wastynge theyr money, aduenturinge their lyues, and shedynge their blode. ¶ In the vttermoste parte of Spayne, whan warre began betwene the Liberiens and Godytains, and they of Lyberie lacked money: Two iuglers and tabourers, offered to maynteyne the warre a hole yere. And it folowed, that with the goodes of two fooles many wyse men were slayne and ouercome.

¶ In Ephese a cytie of Asie, the famous temple of Dyna was edified with the confiscation of the goodis of such a trewande and foole.

¶ Whan Cadmus edified the citie of Thebes in Egipte with. l. gates, the mynstrelles gaue hym more toward it, than all his frendes.

¶ If the histories be trew, whan August edified the walles of Rome, he hadde more of the trewandes, that were drowned in Tybre, than of the comon treasourie.

¶ The firste kynge of Cozynth arose by suche villaynes, I sawe his sepulchre at Cozynthie. And as I say of these smalle nombre, I myght say of many other. Behold than Lambert, howe lyttell care the goddis take, and howe variable the case of fortune is, and howe the dedes of men falle. Some be had in memorie by their folye, and somme for their wysedome. One thyng is come to my mynde, of the chaunce of these trewandes, & that is: whyle they be in ptesence they make euery man to laugh at the folyes that they do and say: and whan they be gone, euery man is sorie for his money þ̄ they bare away. And of trouth it is a iust sentēce of the goddis, þ̄ such as haue taken bayn pleasure togyther, whan they are departed to weepe for their losses. I wyll wryte no more vnto the: but that I do sende the this letter in Greke, to thentent that thou shewe
hit

it ouer all the yle. Sende forthwith the Shyppes ageyne, for they muste be sente forth with prouysions in to Illyrico. Peace be with the Lambert: helth and good fortune be with me Marc. The senate saluteth the. And thou on my behalfe shalt shewe to the yle the ioyfull happy customes. My wife Faustine saluteth the, and sendeth a riche gyrdell to thy doughter. And in recompence of the furre I sende the ryche iewelles.

A letter sent by Marc theemperour to Catulus his speciall frende of the nouelties of Rome.

The. xlii. letter.



Marcus the newe Censure to the Catulus the olde Censurine. It is. x. dayes past, that in the temple of god Janus, I receyued thy letter: and I take the same god to wytnesse, that I had rather haue sene thy persone. Thou wyrteste, howe my wytynge is longe, but the shorynes of tyme maketh me to aunswere the moze bryefely, ferre awayne moze thanne I wolde. Thou desirest me to gyue the knowlege of the newes here. Therto I aunswere, that it were better to demaunde, if there be any thyng abyden here in Rome or Italy that is olde. For nowe by our heuy destenies al that is good and olde is ended, and new thynges that be yll and detestable we may se dayly. Theemperour, the Consule, the Trybune, the Senatours, the Ediles, the Flamynes, the Pretours, the Centurions, all these thynges be newe, but the vilanies that ben olde, & al passeth to make newe offices, and to ordeyne statutes and practykes, to come to the councelles, and to reyse bp subsidies. In suche wise, y there hath ben nowe mo nouelties

Do.iii.

within

within these. iiii. yerres, thā in tyme passed in. iiii. C. yerres.
 We nowe assemble to gither a. iiii. C. to counsel in the ca-
 pitoll, and there we blason and boste, swere, and promise,
 that some of vs may subdue & put vnder other, to fauour
 one, and distroye an other, other to chastise the yll and re-
 warde the good: To repaire olde & edifie newe: to plucke
 vices bp by the rootes, and to plante vertues: to amende
 the olde, and folowe the good: to reproue tyrauntes, and
 assiste the pooze: and whan that we are gone from thens,
 they that spake best woꝝdes, are often takē with the woꝝst
 dedes. O heuy Rome, that nowe adapes hath suche Se-
 natours, that in sayinge we shall do, we shall do, passeth
 their lyfe: and than euery man sekynge foꝝ his owne pro-
 fyte, forgetteth the common welth. Oftentymes I am in
 the Senate to beholde other as they regarde me: and I
 am abashed to here the eloquence of their woꝝdes, the zeale
 of Iustyce, and the iustification of their persons: and af-
 ter that I come thens, I am ashamed to se their secreete ex-
 torcions, their damnable thoughtes, and their yll werkes
 so playnly manifest. And yet there is an other thyng of
 moze meruayle, and not to be suffred, that suche persones
 as are mozte defamed, and bseth mooste dishoneste vices,
 that they with their most damnable intēcions, make their
 auowes to do mozte cruell Iustice. It is an ineffable rule,
 and of humayn malyce mozte bled, that he that is mooste
 hardy to commytte greattest crimes, is most cruel to giue
 sentence ageynst an other foꝝ the same offence. We thinke
 that we regarde our owne crimes, as thꝛough small net-
 tes, that causeth thynges to seme the lesser. And we remē-
 bre the fautes of other in the water, that causeth thinges
 to seme greatter than they be. O howe many haue I sene
 condemned to be hanged by the senate, foꝝ one smal faut
 done in all the lyfe, and yet they commytte the same faute
 euery

euerye houre.

I haue redde, that in the tyme of Alexander the great, there was a renoumed pirate or rouer on the see, whiche robbed and drowned all shippes that he coude gette: and by commaundement of this good kynge Alexander there was an army sent forth to take hym. And whan he was taken and presented to Alexander he sayde to hym: Shew me Dionides, why doste thou kepe the see in danger, that no shippe can sayle out of the east into the weste for the? The Pirate aunswered and sayde: If I kepe the see in daungier, why doste thou Alexander kepe all the see and lande as losse? O Alexander, bycause I fyghte with one shippe in the see, I am called a thefe, and bycause thou robbest with .ii. C. shippes on the see, and troublest al the worlde with two. C. thousande men, thou arte called an emperour. I sweare to the Alexander, if fortune were as fauourable to me, and the goddis as extreme agaynst thez they wolde gyue me thynne empire, and gyue the my lyttel shippe: and than peraduenture I shuld be a better kyng than thou arte, and thou a woꝝ thefe than I am.

These were high woꝝdes, and well receyued of Alexander: and of trouth to se if his woꝝdes were coꝝrespondent to his promyses, he made hym from a Pirate a great capitayne of an army: and he was moꝝe vertuouse on lāde, than he was cruell on the see. I promyse the Catulus Alexander dydde ryght well therin, and Dionides was to be praysed greatly for that he had sayde. Nowe adayes in Italye they that robbe openly are called loꝝdes: and they that robbe priuely are called theues.

In the yere boke of Liuius I haue redde, that in the seconde troublous warre punyke betwene the Romaynes and Carthageniens, there came an ambassadour Lusytayne sente fro Spayne, to treatate for accorde of peace.

Whan

Whan he camme to Rome he proued before the Senate,
 that syth he entred into Italye, he had ben. x. tymes rob-
 bed of his goodes, and whyles he was at Rome, he had
 sene one of them that had robbed hym, hange vp an other
 that had defended hym. He seinge so yll a dede, and howe
 the thefe was saued without Iustyce, as a desperate man
 toke a cole and wrote on the gybet as foloweth. O gybette
 thou art made amonge theues, nourished among theues,
 cutte of theues, wrought of theues, made of theues, set
 amonge theues, and thou arte peopled with innocentes.
 And there as I redde these wordes was in the original of
 Apuius, and in his histories. I swere to the by the immor-
 tall goddis, that al the Decade was written with blacke
 ynke, and these wordes with redde vermylon. I can not
 tell what wordes I shulde sende the, but that euery thing
 is so newe and so tender, and is ioynd with so yll sment,
 that I feare me all wyll fall sodeynly to the playne erthe.
 I tell the that some are sodaynly rysen within Rome vnto
 valour, to whom I wyl rather assure their fall, than their
 lyfe. For all buyldynge hastely made can not be sure. The
 longer a tree is kept in his kynde, it wyll be the longer er
 it be olde. The trees whose fruite we eate in sommer, doo
 warme vs in wynter. O howe many haue we sene, wher-
 of we haue meruayled of their rysinge, and abasshed of
 their falles. They haue growen as a hole pece, and soden-
 ly wasted as a scomme. They felicity hath ben but a short
 poynt, and their infortune as a longe lyfe. Finallye they
 haue aredyed the mill, & armed it with stones of encrease,
 and after a lyttell gryndyng left it, in bytle al the hole pere
 after. Thou knowest wel my frend Catulus that we haue
 sene Cincius Fuluius in one yere made Consule, and his
 chyldren tribunes, and his wyfe a matron for yonge may-
 dens, and besyde that made keper of the capitol, and after
 that

that not in one yere, but the same day we saw Cincius be-
 heeded in the place, his chylderne drowned in Tybre, his
 wyfe banysyed fro Rome, his howse rased downe to the
 grounde, and all his good confilked to the common trea-
 sourie. This rigorous example we haue not redde in any
 boke to take a copie of it, but we haue sene it with our etes
 to kepe it in our myndes. As the nations of people are va-
 riable, so are the condicions of men diuers, and appetites
 of mortal folke: and me thynketh this is true, seinge that ⁺
 some loue, some hate, and that that some seke, some esche-
 wech: And that that some setteth lyttelle by, other make
 of. In such wise, þat al can not be cōtent with one thing, nor
some with all thinges can not be satisfied. Let euery mā
 chuse as they lyst, and embrace the worlde whan he wyll,
 I had rather mount a softe pace to the fallyng: and if I
 can not come therto, I wyll abyde by the way, rather thā
 with sweatte to mount hastely, and than to tumble down
 heedlyng. In this case syth mēs hartes vnderstond it, we
 nede not to write further with penne. And of this matter
 regarde not the lyttell that I do saye, but the great deale
 that I wyll say. And syth I haue begon, and art in strāge
 landes, I wyl write the all the newes fro hens. This yere
 the. xxv. day of May, there came an ambassadour out of
 Alsie, sayenge he was of the yle of Cetyn, a baron righte
 elegant of body, ruddy af aspect, and ryght hardy of cou-
 rage. He considered beinge at Rome though the sommers
 dayes were longe, yet wynter wold drawe on, and thanne
 wolde it be daungerous saylynge in to his yle: and sawe
 that his besynes was not dispatched: On a day beinge at
 the gate of the Senate, seinge al the Senatours entre in
 to the Capitolle, without any armure vpon them, he as a
 man of good spirite, and zelatour of his countreye, in the
 presence of vs all sayde these wordes:

pp

O fa-

O fathers conscripte, O happy people, I am come fro
 a straunge countreye to Rome, onely to se Rome, and I
 haue founde Rome withoute Rome: The walles where-
 with it is inclosed, hath not broughte me hyther, but the
 fame of them that gouerne it. I am not come to se the tre-
 sourie, wherein is the treasure of all realmes, but I am
 come to se the sacred senate, out of the whiche issueth the
 counsell for al men: I came not to se you, bycause ye van-
 quythe all other: but bycause I thought you moze vertu-
 ous than all other. I dare well say one thyng, except the
 goddis make me blynd, and trouble myn vnderstondyng,
 ye be not Romayns of Rome, nor this is not Rome of the
 Romayns your predecessours. We haue herde in our ple,
 that diuers realmes ben wonne by the valyante of one,
 and conserued by the wysedome of all the senate: and at
 this houre ye are moze lyke to be distroyed, than to winne
 as your fathers dydde: all their exercise was in goodnes,
 and ye that are their chylderne passe all your tyme in ceri-
 monies. I say this ye Romayns, bycause ye haue almost
 kylde me with laughynge at you, to se howe ye doo all as
 moche your diligence to leaue your armure withoute the
 gate of the senate, as your predecessours dyd to take them
 to defende the empire. What profyte is it to you to leaue
 your armes for the sureties of your persons, and putteth
 them on wherwith ye slee all the worlde? What profyteth
 it to the thoughtfull suiter, that the senatour entreth vn-
 armed in to the senate without swerde or dagger: and his
 harte entreth into the senate armed with malyce? O Ro-
 maynes, I wyl ye knowe, that in our ple we hold you not
 as armed capitaynes, but malicious senatours: not with
 sharpe grounden swerdes & daggers, but with harde her-
 tes & benymous tongues ye feare vs. If ye shulde in the
 senate put on harnes, & therewith take away your lyues,
 were

were but a small losse, seinge that ye susteyn not the innocentes, nor dispatche not the businesses of suiters, I can not suffre it. I can not tell in what possessions ye be holde at Rome: for in our ile we take armour fro foles, whether your armours are taken awaye as fro foles or madde folkes, I wote not: If it be done for ambitiousnes, it cometh not of Romaynes, but of tyrauntes, that wzanglers and ireful folke shulde be iuges over the peasible, and the ambitious over the meke, and the malicious over the simple: if it be done bycause ye be foles, it is not in the law of the goddis, that. iiii. C. fooles shuld gouerne. iiii. C. W. wise men. It is a longe season that I haue taried for myn answer and licence: and by your madnes I am now farder of, than I was the first daye. We bringe oyle, hony, saffron, wood, and tymbre, salt, syluer, and golde out of our yle into Rome, and ye wyl that we go elles where to seke Iustice. Ye wyl haue one lawe to gather your rentes, and an other to determyne our Iustices: ye wyl that we pay our tributes in one day, & ye wyl not discharge one of our errādes in a hole yere. I require you Romayns determine your selves to take away our lyues, and so we shall ende: or els here our complayntes, to thentēt that we may serue you. For in an other maner it may be than ye know by hearynge with your eares, whiche peraduenture ye wold not se with your eien. And if ye think my wordis be out of measure, so ȳ ye wyl remedy my cōtrey, I set not by my lyfe. And thus I make an ende. Verily frende Catulo these be the wordes, that he spake to the senate, which I gat in wrytinge. I say of truth, ȳ the hardines, that the Romaynes were wont to haue in other cōtreyes, the same as now strāgers haue in Rome. There were that spake that this ambassadour shuld be chastised, but the goddis forbyd, ȳ for saying trouth in my p̄sence, he shulde haue ben cor̄recte.

pp. ii.

It is

It is inough & to moche to, to suffre these euyls, though we flee noꝝ persecute those that aduertise and warne vs of them. The shepe ar not in suretie of the wolfe, but if the shepard haue his dogge with him. I mene, doggis ought not to leaue barkynge foꝝ to awake the shepardes. There is no god commaundeth, noꝝ lawe counsayleth, noꝝ common welthe suffreth, that they whiche are comyncted to chastyse lyers shuld hange them that say trouthe. And sith the senatours shewe them selfe men in their liuinge, and sometyme moze humayne than other that be slaues, who elles shulde delyuer them fro chastisement? O Rome and no Rome, hauyng nothyng but the name of Rome, where is now become the noblenes of thy triumphes, the gloꝛie of thy chyldezen, the rectitude of thy Iustice, and the honour of thy temples: foꝝ as nowe they chastise hym moze that murmureth agaynste one only Senatour, than they do them that blaspheme al the goddis at ones. Foꝝ it greueth me moze to se a Senatour oꝝ censure to be worste of all other, than it displeaseth me, that it shuld be sayd, that he is the best of all other. Foꝝ a trouthe I saye to the my frende Catulus, that as nowe we neede not to seke to the goddis in the temples, foꝝ the Senatours are made goddis in our handes. This is the difference betwene theym that ben immortall, and they that be mortall. Foꝝ the goddis neuer do thynge that is yll, and the Senatours doo neuer good thynge: the goddis neuer lye, and they neuer say trouthe: the goddis pardon often, and they neuer foꝝgyue: the goddis are content to be honoured. v. tymes in the yere, and the Senatours wolde be honoured. x. tymes a day. What wylt thou that I shuld say moze: but what so euer the goddis do, they ought to be praysed: and the senatours in all their woꝛkes deserue to be repproued. Finally I conclude, that the goddis assure and affirme euery thing

ry thyng, and they erre and fayle in nothyng: and the
 senatours assure nothyng, but erre in all thynges: onely
 for one thyng the senatours are not of reason to be cha-
 styled: and that is, whan they intend not to amend their
 fautes, they wylle not suffre the oratours to waste theyr
 tyme to shewe theym the trouthe. Be hit as maye be, I
 am of the opinion, that what mā or woman, withdraueth
 their eares fro heyrng of trouthe, impossible it is for them
 to applye their hartes to loue any vertues. Be it censure
 that iudgeth, or senatour that ordeyneth, or emperour that
 commaundeth, or consule that executeth, or oratour that
 preacheth. No mortall man take he neuer so good hede to
 his werkes, nor reason so well in his desires, but that he
 deserueth some chastysment for some cause or counsaile
 in his doinges. And sith I haue wrytten to the thus of o-
 ther, I wyl somwhat speake of my selfe, bycause of the
 wordes of thy letter. I haue gathered, that thou desirest
 to knowe of my person. Knowe thou for certayne, that in
 the kalendes of Januarie I was made censure in the se-
 nate, the whiche offyce I desired not, nor I haue not de-
 serued it. The opinion of all wyse men is, that no manne
 without he lacke wytte, or surmounteth in folly, wyl glad-
 ly take on hym the burden & charges of other men. A gret-
 ter case it is for a shamefaste man to take on hym an office
 to please euery man, for he muste shewe a countenaunce
 outwarde, contrarie to that he thynketh inwarde. Thou
 wylte saye, that the good are ordeyned to take the charge
 of offices. O vnhappy Rome, that hath wylled to take
 me in suche wyse, as to be the beste in it. Greuous pesty-
 lence ought to come for them that be good, sith I am sca-
 ped as good amonge the yll. I haue accepted this office,
 not for that I had any nede therof, but to satisfie the de-
 syres of my wyfe Faustyne, and to fulfyll the commande-
 ment

ment of Anthonius my grauntfather. Haue no meruayle
of any thyng that I do, but of that I leaue to be done.
For any man that is wedded to faustyne, there is no vi-
lany but he shall do it. I swere to the, that sith the day we
were wedded, me semeth that I haue no wytte. I leaue
weddyng for this tyme, and returne to speake of offyces.
Surely a peasible man ought to be in offyces, though it
be peynfull: for as the offyces are assured amonge them
that be vertuous, so peryllously goth the vertuous folke
amonge offyces. And for the trouthe hercof reckon what
they wyne, and than thou shalt se what they lose. Saye
that is good, if thou knowest it, & here the yll, if thou de-
syre to knowe it. He that wyll take the charge to gouerne
other, he seketh thought and trouble for hym selfe, enuie
for his neyghbours, spurres for his ennemyes, pouertie
for his rycheesse, awakynge of theues, peryll for his body,
an ende of his dayes, and tourment for his good renome.
Fynally he seketh a waye to reiecte his frendes, and a re-
peale to recouer his ennemyes. An unhappy mā is he,
that taketh on hym the charge of chylderne of many mo-
thers, for he shalbe always charged with thoughtes, how
he shulde content them all: ful of sighes bycause one hath
to gyue hym: feare that one shulde take fro hym, weping
if he lese, and suspicion that they infame hym. He that
knoweth this, without longe taryeng ought to sette a byr-
dell at his heed. But I say of one, as I saye of an other.
For I wyll swere, and thou wylt not deny it, that we may
finde some now adays, that had rather be in the parke to
fight ayenst the bulles, thā be in suretie vpon y scaffold.
Oftentimes I haue hard say: Go we to the Theatres to
renne at the bulles: go we to chase the hertes and wylde
boozes: and whā they com there, they renne away, not the
beestis fro them, but they fro the beestis: In such wyse as
they

they went rēnyng, they retorne ageine fleing. I say these ambitious persones procure to gouerne, & are gouerned, they commaunde and are commaunded: they rule and are ruled: and fynally thynkynge to haue diuers vnder their handes, these wretches put them selves vnder euery mans fote. For the remedy of all these perylls my thoughte is comforted with one thing, and that is, without procuring or offring of my selfe, the senate of their owne wyll hath commaunded me. In the. viii. table of our auncient lawes be these wordes. We commande, that in our sacred senate charge of iustyce be neuer giuen to him that wyllfully offreth hym selfe to it, but to such as by ripe deliberation be chosen. This is certaynly a iuste lawe. For men now be not so vertuous nor so louinge to the cōmon welth, y they wyl forget their owne quietnes and rest, doing damage to hym selfe to procure an other mans profyt. There is none so folysh, that wyl leue his wife, chyldre, & his owne swete countrey, to go into strange cōtreis, but if he se him selfe amonge strange people, thinkyng vnder the colour of iustyce to seke for his own vtilite. I say not this without wepyng, that the princis with their small study & thought, & the iuges with their courtysse, haue vndermynded & shaken down the hygh walles of the polycie of Rome. O my frēd Catulus, what wylt thou that I shuld saye, but that our credēce so minisheth, our courtysse so largely voyded, our hardines so boldeth, our shameshaftnes so shameles that we prouyde for iuges to go & robbe our neighbours as captayns against our ennemies. I lete the to wyte, where as Rome was beloued for chastising the wyl, now it is as much hated for dispoyling of innocētes. I do remēbre, that I red, in the time of Denis Syracusan, that ruled al Syccile, there came an ambassadour fro Rhodes to Rome, beinge of a good age, well lerned, and valyaunt in armes,
and

and right curious to regarde euery thyng. He camme to Rome to se the maiestie of the sacred senate: the height of the high capitol enuironned with the Collis: the multitude of senators: the wysedom of the counsaylours: the glorie of triumphes: the correction of the y^e: the peace of the inhabitauntes, the diuersitie of nations: the habundance of the mayntenaunce, the order of the offyces: and finally seinge that Rome was Rome: he was demanded howe he semed therby: He answered and sayd: O Rome in this thy present worlde, thou arte fulle of vertues and wyse men, hereafter it wyll be furnyshed with fooles. Lo what hygh and very hygh wordes were these? Rome was vi. C. yeres without houses of nyctie of foles, and now it hath ben. iii. C. yeres without one wyse oz vertuous. Loke what I say, it is no mockerie but of trouth, If the pitiefull goddis now adayes did reyle our predecessours fro dethe to lyfe, eyther they wold not knowe vs for their chylderne, oz elles attache vs for foles. These be thinges v^led in Rome, but thou sendest no worde of that is v^led in Agrippine. I wyll wryte no thyng to the to put the to peyne: wryte to me some thyng to reioyce me. If thy wife Dynsilla chanced well of the flote that came out of Cetin with salte, oyle, and hony, I haue caused it to be wel prouided for her. Wryte thou, that Flodius our vncle was cast downe by rage of his hoys, and is deceassed. Laertia and Collodius are frendes to gyther, by occasion of a marriage. I do send the a gowne, I pray to the goddis to sende the ioy therof. My wife Faustyn saluteth the. Recōmende me to Janyzo thy sonne. The goddis haue the in keping: and contrary fortune be fro me. Marcus thy frende to the Catulus his owne.

A let-

A letter sent by Marke the emperour to the amorous ladies of Rome, by cause they made a play of hym. The. xiiii. letter.



Marke oratour lernyng at Rhodes the arte of humanite, to you amorous ladies of Rome salutation to your persones, and amende-ment of your desyred lyfe. It is wryten to me, that at the feaste of the mother of the goddis Berecynthia, all ye togyther there present played, and gested on me: wherin ye layde for an example my lyfe and my renoume. It is shewed me, that Aulina composed it, Lucia Fulua wrote it, and thy selfe Coringula dyd singe it, and ye all togyther dyd present it to the Theatre, ye haue portrayed and paynted me in dyuers maners, with a boke in my hande, tourned contrary, as a fayned philosopher: with a tongue alonge, as a bold speker without measure: with a horne on my heed, a common cuckolde: with a nettel in my hande as a tremblyng loue: with a baner fallen downe, as a coward capitayn: with halfe a berde as a femynate man: with a cloth afoze myn eyes as a condemned bacabunde: and yet not content with this, but the other day ye portrayed me in a new maner. Ye made my figure with fete of straw, my legges of ambze, my knees of wood, the thyghes of brasse, the belly of horne, the armes of pytche, the handes of mace: the heed of yello: the eares as an asse: the eyes of a serpent, the heares as rootes iagged: the tethe of a catte, the tōge of a scorpion, and the foreheed of lead: wherin was wryten in two lynes these letters, M, N, T, N, I, S, V, S, the whiche meneth (as I do take it) The mortall man taketh not the statue so strange, as the doublenes of the lyfe: & than ye went to the rpuer, and therin tyed his heed downward

Mq a hole

a hole day. And if the lady Messalyn had not ben, I think it had ben tied there tyll now. And now ye amorous ladies haue wrytten to me a letter by Fuluius Fabritius, wherof I receyue no peyn, but as an amorous man, from the handes of ladies I take it as a mockerie. And to the intent that I shulde haue no tyme for to thynke thereon, ye sende to wyte a question of me, that is: if I haue founde in my wrytinges, wherof, by whom, where, whan, what, and howe the fyrste women were made. And bycause my complexion is to take mockes for mockynges, and syth ye demaunde it, I shall shewe it you, and your frendes and myn, and specially Fuluius your messenger hath desired me. There is nothinge wherof I complayne, but I wyll holde my peace, saue to your letter and demaunde, I wyll answere. And sith there hath ben none for to aske the questiō, I protest that to none other, but to you amorous women of Rome, I sende myn answere. And if any other honest lady wyll take the demaunde for you, it is a token that she hath enuy of the office that ye be of. Certaynly if any lady sheweth her selfe annoyed with your peyne openly, fro hensforthe I condemne her, that she kepe no fault that she knoweth in secrete. They that be on the stage fere not the rozing of the bulle: and he that is in a dongeon feareth not the shotte of artillerie. I wyll saye, a woman of good lyfe feareth no man with an ylle tongue. The good matrones may kepe me for their perpetuall seruante, and they that be yll for their chiefe ennemie. Nowe to answere the question, to know wherof the fyrst women were made: I say that accoꝝdyng to the diuersitie of nations, that be in the world, is dyuers opinions, that I fynd in this case. The Egyp̄tiens saye, that whan the flode of Nyle ranne abrode, and watred the erthe, there abode certayne pieces of erthe cleauynge to gyther lyke greace, and thanne the heate

heate commynge in them created many wyld beastes: and
 so amonge them was founde the firste woman. Noote ye
 ladies, that it was necessarie, that the f lode of Nyle shuld
 flowe ouer his bymines, that the firste woman myght be
 made on the erthe. All creatures are bredde in the entrails
 of their mothers, excepte the woman, that was bredde
 without a mother. And this semeth to be tru, bicause with
 out mothers ye were bozne, without rule ye lyue, & with
 out order ye dye. Uerily he putteth him selfe to many tra
uayles, and hath many wyles to fynd, and many times to
thynke, and to aske many succours, and to abyde many
peres, and to chuse amonge many women, that wyll rule
one onely wyfe by reason. Be the beastes neuer so cruelle
 and fierse, at the laste the lyon is ledde of his keper with
 out any bonde: The bulle is closed in the parke: the byp
 dell ruleth the hores: a lyttell hoke catcheth the fysh: and
 the wolfe suffreth to be tyed: only a woman is a beast vn
 able to be tamed: & neuer leseth her boldnes for any thing
 that is commanded her, nor the bydell, for that she is not
 commaunded. The goddis haue made men as men, and
 beastes as beastes, and the humayne vnderstondynge be
 ry high, and his stréngth of a great power: but yet is there
 no mā be he neuer so high, that shal scape the womā light
 ly, nor defende hym be he neuer so stronge. But I saye to
 you my ladyes: There is no spurres that can make you
 go, nor raynes that can holde you, nor bydell that can re
 freyne you, nor angle or net that can take you: and final
 ly there is no law can subdue you, nor shame refreyn you,
 nor feare abashe you, nor chastysemente amende you. I
in what yll aduenture putteth he hym selfe, that thinketh
to rule and correct you. For if ye take an opinion in hand,
 all the worlde shall not drawe you frome it: if a man tell
 or warne you of any thyng, ye wyll neuer beleue hym:

Dq. ii.

If one

If one gyue you good counsell, ye wyl not take it: if one threaten you, anone ye complayne: if one flatter you, thā ye ware proude: if one reioyce not in you, ye are spitefull: if one forbear you, it maketh you bolde: if ye be chastised, ye tourne to serpentis: finally a woman wyl never forgue any iniurie: nor gyue thanke for any good dede, Nowe adayes the moſte ſymple of all women (I ſweare) wyl ſweare, that ſhe knoweth leſſe than ſhe dothe: and of trouthe the moſte wyſeſt mans wytte ſhall fayle in theyr reaſons: and yet the wyſeſt of theym ſwerueth frome all wyſedom. Wyl ye know my ladyes, howe lytel ye know, and howe moche ye be ignorant? That is, ye determyne ſodenly in harde thinges of grauitie, as yf ye had ſtudied for it a. M. yeres: and if any gaynsaye you, ye take hym as a mortall enmie. Hardy is that woman, that dare giue counſel to a man: but he is moze hardier that taketh it of a womā. But I ſay he is a ſole that taketh it, and he moze ſole that aſketh it, and he is moche moze follyſhe that fulfylleth it. My n^oppynion is, that he that wyl not fal amōg ſo many ſtones, nor prick him amonge ſo many thornes, nor blyſter hym amonge ſo many nettys, lette hym here what I wyl ſay, and do as he ſhall ſee: ſpeake well and worke ylle, In promyſynge promyſe moche: In fulfyllynge fulfylle nothyng: and finally alowe your wordes, and condemne your counſelles. If one ſhulde demaunde nowe adays of dyuers ryght renoumed perſons, that ben deed, howe they dydde with the counſell of women whan they lyued: I am ſure they wolde not haue ryſen than to beleue thē: nor at this houre to be reuyued agayn to here them. How was kyng Philyp of Macedon with Olympias? Darys with Helayne? Alexander with Roſane? Eneas with Dydo? Hercules with Dejanira? Hanyball with Champza? Nero with Agrippine? And if ye wyl not be-

beleue what they suffred with them, demande of me how
 I do amonge other. O ye women, I remembrynge that
 I am bozne of one of you, abhorre my lyfe: and thynking
 that I lyue with you, I desire deathe. For there is none
 other deathe as to treat with you. And no better lyfe thā
 to flee fro you: It is a common sayinge amonge women,
 that we men be vnkynde, bycause we being bozne in your
 entrayles, do entreate you as bondwomen and seruantis:
 and ye say, sith ye beare vs with peryll, and nouryshe vs
 with trauaile, that it were conuenient and iust that we al-
 ways shulde be occupied in your seruices. Oftentymes I
 haue studyed, why men desireth women so moche. There
 is no eies, but they ought to wepe, no harte but it shulde
 bzeake, no spirite but it shuld be sozowfull to se a wyse mā
 losse by a foolyshe woman. The foolyshe louer passeth the
 day to satisfie his syght: the derke nyght to tomble with
 bayne thoughtes: one day to here tidinges, an other day
 he offereth seruice: one tyme lounge darkenes, an other
 tyme he hateth lyght: he dyeth with company, and lyueth
 solytarie: and finally the pooze folyshe louer may that he
 wyl not, and wylleth that he may not. More ouer the coun-
 sell of his frendes profyteth hym not, nor the shame of his
 enymies, nor losse of his goodes, nor the aduenture of ho-
 nour, nor losynge of his lyfe, nor sekynge of deathe, nor
 compynge nere, nor goinge ferre, nor seinge with eyes, nor
 herynge with eares, nor tastynge with mouthe, nor yet fe-
 lynge of hande: and finally to attayne victorie, he hathe
 alway warre ageynst hym selfe: I wold these louers knew
 fro whens loue procedeth, it is this: The entrayles that
 we are bredde in is of fleshe: the brestes that we sucke, are
 of fleshe: the armes that we are nourished in be of fleshe,
 the werkes that we do are of the fleshe, by the whiche oc-
 casions commeth the repeale of our fleshe to their fleshe.

Aq.iii.

Many

Many free hartes falle into the snares of loue. It semeth well my ladies, that ye are brought vp in puddles, as the Egiptiēs say: The puddels kepe no clere water to drinke, noꝝ fruite to eate, noꝝ fysh to be taken, noꝝ vessell to sayle with: I do say ye are foule in your lyuinge, shamefull in your persones, in aduersitie feble and lethy, in prosperitie subtyll and wyly: false in woꝝdes, doubtfull in your werkes: In hatynge ye kepe a disoꝝder, extreme to loue, auaricious in gyftes, vnshamfast to take: and I say ye are a receyte of feare, where as wyse men findeth perylle, and symple men suffre: In you wise men holde their renomes disalowed, and the symple their lyfe in penury.

¶ Let vs leaue the opinion of the Egiptiens, and come to the Grekes, whiche saye, that in the desertes of Arabye the sonne shyneth moſte hote: and they say, that at the begynnyng there appered a woman alone with a byꝝde called Phenix, the whiche byꝝde (they say) was created of the water, and the woman of the great hete of the sonne, and of the coꝝruption of the powder that falleth fro the trees, whiche the woꝝmes doth eate: In this wise there was a tree soꝝe eaten with woꝝmes, and it chaunced by heate of the sonne, and the drythe of the powder, a fyꝝe to kende, and so bzent it: and than of the fire and powder of the said bzent tree, the firste woman was made. And though I be a philosopher Romaine, I wyll not say, that the opinion of the philosopher greke was yll. Foꝝ of a truth ye ladies that be amozous, haue your tongues of the nature of fire, & your condicyons of the rotēnes of the powder of wood. After the diuersitie of bestes, nature hath put som strēgth in dyuers partes of their bodies, as the egle in the beke, the vnicoꝝne in the hoꝝne, the serpent in the tayle, the bull in the heed, the bere in his armes, the hoꝝs in his bꝝest, the dogge in his teathe, the hogge in groyne, the wood doue
in

her wynges, and women in their tongues. Of trouthe the flyght of the wood doue is not so highe as the fantasie of your folyes, noz the catte scratcheth not so sooze with her nayles, as ye scratche soles with your importunities: noz the dog hurteth not them, that he reneth at, as ye do the sorrowful louer that serueth you: noz he reneth not in so gret perill of his lyfe for to catche the bull by the hornes, as is the peril of the good fame of the louer yf falleth into your handes. And finally the serpent hath not so moch poyson in his taile, as ye haue in your tonges: set al the Romaine ladies apart: for there be many ladyes of Rome, of whom there is no complaynt of their persones, noz suspicion of their good names. Of all suche my letter speketh not, noz my penne writeth not, but of other & not of them. I speke of women that be suche, that all venemous beastes haue not so moche poyson in their bodies, as an yll woman hath in her tongue. And sith that the goddis haue comanded, & our destenies doth permytte, that the lyfe of men can not passe without woman: therfore I aduertise these yonge people, and pray them that be olde, and awake wise men, and teche the symple, to flee away fro women of yll name, rather than fro common pestylence.

E Redyng the ancient lawes of Plato, I fynde written thus: we comand yf al womē openly infamed, be opely put out of the citie: to thentēt that other seing their synnes not unpunished, may abhoze the sinne for feare to fal into the same peyne. Also the same law sayth: We comande, that pardon be giuen to a woman of all the fautes comytted by her owne body, if any amendement be sene in her: but neuer to pardon them that haue comytted synne with their tungen. For comyttynge synne with an yll person is of fragilitie, but with the tongue it is of pure malyce.

O diuine Plato master & mesure of al vnderstandyng,
and

and prince of all philosophers, whanne thou madest that lawe in the golden world, that there was neuer such scarcitie of yll women, and so great abundance of good women in Grece. What shall we doo nowe in Rome, where there be so many ylle openly, and so fewe good in secrete. Naturally they were wonte to be shamefaste in their bysages, temperate in wordes, wyse of wyt, sobre in goinge, meke in conuersation, pitiefull in correction, well regarding their lyuinge, not keepynge companies, stedfast in promesse, and constant in loue. Fynally let not the woman that wyll be good, trust in the wisedome of wise men, nor in the flatterie of lyght folkes: But lette her vertuously regarde her renoume, and beware alwayes of any man that maketh her any promys. For after that the flames of Venus be set on fire, and Cupide hath shotte his arowes, the ryche man offreth all that he hathe, the pooze man all that he may, the wyse man sayth he wyl be her great frende, and the symple alway her seruant: the wyse man wyl lose his lyfe for her, and the fole wyl take his deathe for her: The olde man wyl say he wyl be frend to her frendes: and the yonge man wyl say, he wyl be ennemie to her ennies. Some wyl promys to pay her debtes, and other to reuenge her iniuries. Finally to hyde their pouertie, and to shewe their beautie they leaue these fooles losing their persones and good fames. I wyl leaue to speake of good women, for it is not myn intent to lay any thinge to their charge, but to aduertise them well. I demaunde of you amorous ladyes, if Platon was there, whan ye made a playe of my lyfe, and drewe my figure about in Rome? No surely in dede, by that I se in you, at this tyme it is suspicious that is sayde of other. For there is but a fewe in Rome, whom Plato and his lawe dothe excuse. One thynge ye can not deny, if I were the worst of all men, at the laste ye haue

founde

founde the ende of my vilanyes. And ye can not deny me,
 but she that is leaste yll of you, in all my lyfe I coude not
 shewe the malyce of her lyfe. It is greatte peryll to wyse
 women to be neyghbours to fooles: Great peryll it is to
 them that be shamefast, to be with them that be shameles:
 great peril it is to them that be of a meke and styl maner,
 to be with them that be bolde and rude: great peryll it is
 for them that be chaste, to be with them that lyue in auou-
 trie: great peryll it is for the honourable, to be with them
 that be dis famed. For the women defamed, thinke that al
 other be defamed, and desire that they shulde be defamed,
 and procure to haue them defamed: and say they be yll fa-
 med. And to thentent to couer their owne infamy, they in-
 fame all other that be good. O ye ladyes in amours, it is
 long sith ye knew me and I you: and yf ye speke, I speke:
 yf ye knowe I knowe, if ye be styl I am styl, yf ye speke
 openly, I wyl not speke in secret. Thou knowest wel Aup-
 lia, that made the ieste, how Eumedes solde calues derer
 in the bouchery, than thou soldest the innocent virgins in
 thy house. Thou knowest wel Turiga, that one day thou
 recknedst all thy louers, but thou coudest not reckon them
 on thy fyngers, but desyredst to haue a bushell ful of pea-
 son. And thou Lucia Fuluia knoweste well, whan thou
 were (thou wotest where) with Byeto, and madeest peace
 with thy hus bande, thou tokest hym a syde, and saydest,
 but if thou myghtest lye out of thy house ones a weke, he
 shuld not lye in the house. And thou Ketoza knowest wel,
 that in thy yonge dayes two yeres thou were appoynted
 on the see with a Byzate, so that he shulde take no mo to
 satisfie a. C. men of warre in the galey. Thou Egna Coz-
 cia knowest wel, that whan the censure entred to take the,
 he found. v. mens gownes, in whiche thou wentst euer by
 nyght, & thou haddest but one womans gowne, that thou
 warest

warest on by day. Thou knowest well Desylane Fabrice,
 that Aluinus Metellus & thou beinge married, befoze the
 Censure demaunded openly his parte, of that thou gate
 in thy house with thy secret louers. And thou Camyll kno
 west well, not beinge content with thyn owne nation, but
 by-reason of the great hauntyng that thou haddest with
 straungers, thou canst speake all maner of languages. I
 wil marke them that hath marked me, and hurt them that
 haue hurte me, persecute theym that haue persecuted me,
 and infame them that haue infamed me: Al other my pen
 doth pardō, bycause they haue pardoned me in their play.
 And bycause my letter hath begonne in that ye haue done
 to my person, therfoze I wyl end it in that it feleth of your
 good names. And thus I conclude, that a man may scape
 free fro all domages, with absteynyng fro them: But fro
 women there is no way, but to fle fro them. Thus I ende
 and demaunde of the goddis, that I may se of you, as ye
 desire to se of me. And sythe ye be louers, I counsell you,
 as ye haue sente me your ieste as foꝛ a mocke, in lykewise
 foꝛ a mocke to receyue the answere. Marc Rodyan to the
 amorous ladyes of Rome,

A letter sent by Marc the emperour to Boemia a
 louer of his, that wolde haue gone with hym
 to the warres. The.xv. letter.



Marc pzetour Romayn sent to the warres of
 Dacy, sendeth salute to his louer Boemia,
 which art in the plesures of Rome. I being
 scaped fro a cruel bataile, haue red the fewe
 lynes witten with thy hande, & haue herde
 of the a long informatiō. I say to the, thou
 hast put me in a moze great abashement, than the feare of
 myne

myn ennies. In takynge thy letter into my hande, forth-
 with the herbe of malyce entred into my herte. Whan I
 tempze my body with thy delytes, I thinke my hart is fre
 fro the benym of thyn amours. I of my wyl, and thou bi-
 cause thou canste do no moze, we haue giuen vs to be free
 of our pleasures, I thinke as wel as to make a deuozse of
 our ennies. But suche as ye be, so ye do, banyshmentes
 of amours, and treasours of passions. The loue of you al
 ought to be digested with pylles: but the passion of one of
 you wyl not be oppzessed with all the Rubarbe in Alexan-
 drie. Ye shewe your selfe cruell to pardon an ennemy, and
 euery day light to change louers. Curious ly I haue kept
 you all the while that delytes ouerpressed my youth: yet I
 coude neuer se in any woman no certayntie, noz reason in
 loue, but hate at the last. Thy pzeset lyghtnes quarelleth
 with my youth past: and it is bycause thou seest not in me
 the auncient wyl toward the, noz the pzesent seruice. And
 certaynly herynge thyn accusation, and not my iustifica-
 tion, as iustly thou paieest me with deth, as I pay the with
 forgetfulnes: The whiche forgettynge is as straunge to
 be in hym that serueth, as vngentylnes in the lady that is
 serued. Thinkest thou, that I haue forgotten the lawe of
 Venus, where as it commandeth, that the curious louers
 shuld exercise their strengthes in armes, and occupie their
 hartes in loue: and also that their apparell be very clene-
 ly, their fete well compassed, their bodie stedfast and not
 wauerynge, their voyces lowe and soft, and sadde in cou-
 tenance: their eies open gasynge at wyndowes, and theyr
 hartes redy to fle in the ayze. Of trouth my loue Boemia,
 he is but a grosse louer, that holdeth his wylle in capti-
 uitie, and his vnderstandynge free. The vnderstandynge
oughte to be lost, where as wylle is in prizon. I sape this
 to thetent that though myne age haue lefte the exercyse,

R.r.ii.

pet

yet my spirite hath not forgotten the art. Thou complai-
 nest bicause I gyue my selfe to rest, & that I haue greatly
 forgotten the. I wyll not deny the trouthe: the day of for-
 gettyng maketh the muster of my thoughtes, and reson
 whiche is prouisour declareth, that it is not to my grauite
 to permyt, that I shuld loue, nor thy age to suffre to be be-
 loued. As nowe thou knowest, that dyuers thinges, that
 youth dissimuleth in yonge persons, in age meryteth gre-
 uous correction. The dedes done in youthe procedeth of
 ignorance: but the vilanies done in age procedeth of ma-
 lyce. Whan I kepte the Cautons, I ietted in the stretes,
 I sange balades, I gased to the wyndowes, I played on
 instrumentes, I scaled the walles, I wakened lyght per-
 sons: thinkest thou, that I wylt what I dyd in my youth?
 and now that I se my selfe promoted fro these pleasures,
 and decked with so many whyte heares, and apparayled
 with so many dolours, I thynke nowe, I was not than,
 or elles I dreame as nowe, not knowynge the ways that
 I haue gone, not seinge the wayes full of stones, I haue
 fallen ere I was ware, I haue fallen in snares: seking no
 guyde, I was entred in to the whirlepoole: and by the
 grossenes of my boldnes, I was lost, and therfore I haue
 deserued pardon. And nowe that I am out of the thornes
 and bushes, thou woldest haue me farther in than euer I
 was: And now that I can not take the purgations, thou
 offrest me newe syzopes: I haue watched all nyghte, and
 touched newly the alarme. For the ancient amitie I pray
 the, and coniure the in the name of the goddis, sithe that
 my harte is rebell against thy wyll, which is right doubt-
 ful: causeth me to leaue to desire the thus without doubt.
 And to chetent that thou shuldest not thynk any vnkyn-
 nes in my whyte heares, as I may argue thy face of ydel-
 nes, I wyll that we reckon what we haue wonne, or hope
 to

to wyne. Shewe me what cometh of these plesures: the tyme yll spent, good name in scaterynge to pardicion, the patrimonie wasted, the credēce lost, the goddis annoyed, the vertues sclaundred, gette the name of brute bestes, and surnames of shame: suche ye and we and other be. Thou wytest in thy letter, howe thou wylte leaue Rome, and come & se me in the warres of Dacy. Seing thy foly I laugh, and knowledgyng thy boldnesse, I beleue the. And whan I thynke thus, I take the letter agayne out of my bosum, & beholde the seale, doutynge if it be thy letter or not. Thou alterest my pulses and felynges of my hart, & the colour of my face chaūgeth, imageninge, that either shame surmounteth in the, or els grauitie fayleth in me. For suche lyghtnes shuld not be beleued, but of lyke light persones. Thou knowest well, he that doth yll, meryteth peyn soner thā he that doth the infamy. I wold wite: whether thou wylt go: thou haste ben cutte for vertinace, and nowe thou woldest be solde for wyne. Thou began fyrste as cherries, and thou wylt be laste as quynces: we haue eten the in blossomes, and thou wylt be lyke the fruite: the nuttes ar very good, but the shales be to hard, with straw and donge thou arte made rype, and thou art rotten, and if thou be rottē, thou art to be lothed. Thou art not cōtent with. xl. yeres, that thou haste, of the whiche. xxv. yeres are passed in tast as wyne, that is to be solde: and as strawberies hyd vnder the leaues that are corrupte and rotten. Art not thou Boemia, that lacketh two tethe, the eyes hollowed, with white heares, & a riueled face, one hande losse with the gout, & a rybbe marred with chylde beryng: whether wylt thou go: put thy self thā in a barrell, & cast the & it into the riuer, & thou shalt come out al weate. We haue eaten the freshe fylshe, & nowe thou woldest bring hyther þ rusty old salt fishe in stede therof. O Boemia Boemia, now

Rr. iii.

I

I know there is no trust in youth, nor hope in age. Thou
 complaynest, that thou haste nothynge. That is an olde
 quarell of the amorous ladies of Rome, whiche takynge
 all, say they haue nothynge: and that ye lacke of credēce,
 ye do fulfyl with money. Therfore beleue me louing frēd,
 that the folysh estate, that procedeth of vnlauffull wyn-
 nyng, gyueth small suretie and lesse good name to the per-
 sone. I can not tell howe thou haste spende so moche. For
 if I drewe of my rynges with one hande, thou dyddest o-
 pen my purse with the other hand. I had greater warres
 with my coffres than, than I haue now with myn enne-
 mies. I coude neuer haue iewel, but thou woldest demād
 it: nor I dyd neuer deny the. Nowe at this houre I mer-
 uayle, for in this myn age I fynde great hynderaunce by
 my youthe. Thou complaynest of trauayle and pouertie.
 I am he that hath great nede of that medicine for this o-
 pilation, and a playster for that soore, and to haue some
 colde water for that hote feuer. Art thou not aduised, that
 I banyshed my necessitie in the londe of forgetfulnes, and
 dyd set vp thy wyll for the request of my seruice. In wyn-
 ter I went all bare, and in sommer charged with clothes,
 I went on fote in the myre, and rode in the faire way. whā
 I was heuy, I laughed, and whan I was mery I wept.
 For drede I drewe forth the my strengthes, and out of my
 strengthes cowardyse. The nyghtes to sygh, & on the day
 to wayte where thou wentest by. Whan thou haddist nede
 of any thynge, I was fayne to robbe my father for it. Tel
 me Boemia, with whom fulfilledst thou thyn open folies,
 but with the yll orders that I putte my selfe to in secrete?
 wote ye what me semith by you amorous ladies of Rome:
 ye are in the courte as the lyttell moughtes eatynge olde
 clothes, & a pastime for light folkes, tresozers of foles, & se-
 pulchres of vices. This y semeth me is, y if in thy youth
 euery

euery mā gaue to the, bicause thou shuldest giue the to euery mā: now thou giuest thy self to euery mā, bycause euery mā shuld giue them to the. Thou tellest me, that thou hast ii. sons, & lackest helpe for them. Yeld graces to the goddis of the pitie that they haue bled with the: they haue giuen to .xv. childzen of Fabricio my neyghbour but one father, & to two of thy childzen onely, they haue giuen. i. fathers. Therfore deuyde them amonge theyr fathers, and euerye mā shal n ot haue one synger. Lucia thy daughter indede, & myn by suspect, remembre þ I haue done for her more in marienge of her, thā thou didst in her procreation. For to the gettyng of her thou dydst call dyuers, & to mary her I dyd it alone. I wyte to the but lyttel, to the respect of that I wold wyte. Butrio Cornelio hath spoken moch on thy parte, he hym selfe shall shewe the as moche of my parte. It is longe ago sith I knewe thyn impacience. I knowe wel thou wilt sende me an other letter more malicious. I pray the sith I wyte to the secretly, defame me nat opely. And whā thou reddest this letter, remembre what occasiōs thou giuest me to wyte, & though þ we be not frendis, yet wil I not leue to send the siluer. I send the a gowne: & the goddis be with þ, & bypnyng me out of this warre with pece. Marke pretour in Dacye to his auncient louer Boemia.

The answere to the emperours letter sent by Boemia. The .xvi. letter.



Boemia thyn ancient louer, to the Marc of moūt Celio her mortal enemy, I desire vengeance of thy person, & il fortune for al thy life, I haue receiued thy letter, & therby perceiue thy dānable entrailes & thy cruel malices. Suche yll persons as thou art hath this priuilege, þ sith one doth suffre your vilanies i secret, ye wyll

ye wylł hurte them openly, but thou shalte not do so with
 me Marc: for though I be not tresouresse of thy tresours,
 yet at leaste I am treasouresse of thyn plnesse: and where
 as I can not reuenge me with my person, I shall labour
 to do it with my tongue. And thynke that though we wo-
 men be weake, and our bodies sone ouercome, yet wyte it
 for certayne, that our hartes ar neuer banquyshed. Thou
 sayest, that scappynge fro a battayle thou dyddest receyue
 my letter, wherof thou were sooze abashed: It is a verve
 common thyng to them that be weke and slacke, to speke
 of loue, wanton fooles to treate of bookes, and to cowar-
 des to babble of armes: I say it, bycause the answeringe
 to a letter was not of necessitie to reherse to a woman as
 I am, whither it were befoze the battayle or after. I know
 well, thou art scaped fro it, for thou were not the first that
 fought, nor the last that fledde. Whan thou were yong, I
 neuer sawe the go to the warre, that euer I dzedde or had
 suspecte of thy lyfe: for knowynge thy cowardyse, I ne-
 uer toke care for thyn absence, for therin I was most sure
 of thy persone. Than Marc tell me now, what thou dost
 in thyn age. I thynke thou bearest thy spere not for to iust
 in the warre, but for to leane on whan the goute greueth
 the. Thy helmette I deme thou bearest with the to drinke
 with in tauernes, and not to defende the fro the strokes of
 swerdes, for I sawe the neuer stryke man with thy sword,
 but I haue knowen the sle a. M. women with thy tonge.
 O malicious and unhappy Marc, if thou were as bal-
 aunt as thou arte malicious, thou shuldest be as greatly
 dzed of the barbarike nations, as thou arte in hatred, as
 reason is, with the matrones of Rome. Tell me what the
 lyfte, at the least thou canst not denye, but that thou haste
 ben a weake and slacke louer, so thou arte nowe a weake
 and slacke cowarde knyght, an vnknown frende, auari-
 cious

cious, infamed, malycious, cruel, ennemy to euery man,
 and frende to no bodye. And we that haue knowen the
 yong strong and lusty, cōdemne the for an olde fole. Thou
 sayest, that takyng my lettre in to thy handes, thy herte
 toke the poyson of malyce. I beleue it well without swe-
 ryng, for any thyng beyng malicious forthwith syndeth
 lodgyng i thy hous. Beastes that be corrupt, lyghtly take
 the poyson, that they that ben of good complexyon caste a-
 way. Of one thyng I am in certayne, thou shalt not dye of
 poyson. For one venyme oftentimes dystroyeth an other
 venym. O Malycyous Marc, yf all they in Rome knewe
 the, as well as sorowfull Boemya dooth, they shuld soone
 se what difference were betwene the wordes that thou spe-
 kest, and the intencion of thy hert. And if by the wyrtinges
 that thou makest, thou meritest to haue the name of a phi-
 losopher, by the plnes that thou doest inuente, thou doste
 merite to haue the name of a tyraunt. Thou sayest, thou
 sawest neuer certytude in the loue of a woman, nor ende
 of her hate. I haue great glozie, that other ladies besyde
 me haue knowlege of thy small wysedome. Al se Marc, I
 wyl not mocke the, thou arte suche one, as neuer deser-
 ued that one shulde begynne to loue the, nor leaue to hate
 the. Wylt thou haue certitude in loue, and thou vnfaith-
 full of thy seruice? Wylt thou serue with mockeries, and
 woldest be loued truely? Wylte thou enioye the persone
 without spendyng of any of thy goodes? Wylt thou haue
 no complayntes of the, and thou not ceassyng thy maly-
 ces? Thou sayest thou knowest the plnes of women. I wyl
 thou know, we be not so folysh as thou thinkest, nor thou
 so wyse as thou wenest, to praysse thy selfe: yet hytherto
 hath ben sene mo men to folowe the appetyte of women,
 than there hath ben women folowynge the wyl of men.
 In none of bothe is great trust, and yet we bothe practyse
 that

M A R C V S

that one man hath his harte so myghty to be moze wyser
than thre wyse women, and one woman thynketh her so
stronge to put vnder her fete and ouercome. iiii. C. suche
as be lyght. Thou sayest, thou arte abashed of my lyght-
nes, to leaue Rome, to go to the in the warres. Great is
the loue of the couñtre, sith that many leaue dyuers wel-
thes that they haue in strange landes, and lyue straitely,
for to lyue in their owne lande: but greater is my loue,
sith that I wolde leaue Rome with al the pleasures to go
and serche for the in straunge landes amonge the cruelle
battayles. O malicious Marke, O straunge louer: if I
leaue Rome, it were to go and seke my hert beinge in the
battayles with the. And certaynly dyuers tymes whanne
I doo thinke on thyne absence, I swowne and sorowe, as
my hart were not with me, and yet I fynde no perfyte re-
medy. I thinke not our loue is lyke these bestes that ioy-
eth of their pleasures, without to wylle, and desyre their
wylles. I sweare to the by the goddesse Vesta, and by the
mother Berecynthia, that thou owest me moze for one day
of loue, that I haue had to the, than for the seruices that
I haue done to the in. xxi. yeres. Behold vnhappy Marc,
howe moche in thy pñsence I haue alwayes regarded the,
and in thyn absence I haue alwayes thought on the, and
slepyng I haue alwayes dreamed of the, I haue wepte
for thy trauayle, and laughed at thy pleasure, and finally
all my welth I haue wysshed the, and al thyn ylls I haue
wysshed me. I ensure the one thyng, that as now I fele
not so moche thy persecution, that thou doest to me, as I
do the mysknowlege that thou makest to me. It is a gret
sorowe for an auaritious man to se his goodes losse: but
without comparison it is ferre greater for the louer to se
his loue yll bestowed: It is a hurt that is alwaye sore, & a
peyn alwaye painful, a sorow alwaye sorowful, & it is a deth
that

that neuer endeth. O ye men, if ye knew with what loue women loueth you in perfytenes whan they loue, & with what hert they hate whan they are set to hate: I swere to you, ye wold neuer cōpany with thē in loue: or if ye do loue them, neuer to leue thē for feare of theyr hate, & how there is neuer gret hate, but where as moch loue was fyrst. But thou shalt neuer be gretly hatid, for thou were neuer truly loued of ladies. The sorowful Boemia hath loued p. xxiij. yere of her lyfe, & now she only hateth p. tyl after her deth. Thou sayest, I may be eaten for veruycce, and yet I wold be solde for wyne. I knowe wel I haue erred, as one that hath ben yonge and lyght, and whan I perceyued that I had lost my way, and that my mysladventure can fynde no way nor remedy: It is the greatestt losse of al losses, whā there is no remydy. I haue erred lyke a feble and a weake woman, but thou hast erred as a stronge man: I haue erred by synple ygnorance, but thou hast erred of a prepen sed and wylfull malyce: I haue erred, not knowyng that I shuld haue erred, but thou knewest what thou dyddest: I haue trusted as faythfull to thy wordes, lyke a gentyll man, and thou hast begyled me with a thousande trespnynges as a lyer. Telle me, dyddest thou not seke occasion to comye into my mothers house Getulia, to allure me her doughter Boemys to thy mynde? Dyddest not thou promyse my father to teache me to rede in one yere? and thou taughtest me to rede the booke of Ouidius, of the arte of loue? Dyddest thou not sweare to be my hus bande, and than withdrewest thy hande as a false aduoultrer? Doest thou not knowe, that thou neuer foundest vilanye in my personne, nor I neuer founde trouthe in thy mouthe? At leest thou canst not deny, but thou hast offended the goddis, and arte infamed of men, & odious to the Romayns, sclaundred of good folkes, and example to the yll folkes.

S. ii.

and

and finally a traytout to my father and mother, a breker
of thy faythe, and to me sorowfulle Boemia an vnkynde
louer. O malycious Marc, haste thou not cutte me in le-
ues, offrynge to my father to kepe his vyues surely? All
may the chekyn truste the kyte, or the lambes the wolues:
& worse the to bring vp the daughters of the that be good.
O cursed Marke, a damageable keper of vines hath the
matrones of Rome founde the, in keepynge their dought-
ters: I swere, that there was neyther grape nor cluster,
but it was eaten or cut by the. Thou dydst eate me beinge
grene, I promyse the it hath sette thy tethe on an yledge.
Thou sayest, I ryped by power of heate and strawe. It
displeaseth me not so moche, that thou sayest, as thou gy-
uest me occasion to say to the. Thy shame is so shamefull,
and thy malyce so vnshamefast, that I can not answere
the to the pourpose, without hurtynge or touchynge the
quycke. I wolde wyte of the, whan thou marpedst Fau-
styn, whether thou fondest her grene or rype? Thou kno-
west well, and lykewise so do I, that other beside the, gau-
ged the vessel, and thou drankest the lees: other gathered
the grapes, and thou gleynd the vyne: other dyd eate the
grapes, and thou haddest the huskes. O wycked Marc,
beholde thyn euylles, and howe the goddis haue gyuen
the iuste chastysment, that thou being yonge merited not
to be desyred of thy louers, nor that thy wyues kepe feith
to the in thyne age. For to be aduenged of thy persone, I
nede none other thyng, but to se the married to Faustine.
By the mother Berecynthia I promyse the, yf if thy small
wyledome myght atteyne to knowe entierly, what is sayd
of her and the in Rome, surely thou woldest wepe nyghte
and day for the lyfe of Faustyn, and not leue the thought-
full Boemia. O Marc, lyttell thought is taken for the, &
howe fer is our vnderstodyng vncoupled fro thy thoughtes:

tes: bycause that with thy great doctrine by day tyme thy house is made a schole of philosophers, and the wantonnesse of thy wyfe Faustyne by nyght, maketh it a bozdell of ruffiens. It is a iuste iugement of the goddis, that sith thyn onely malyce suffiseth to poyson many that be good, that one alone may suffise to vnbend and lose thy renoime. One difference there is betwene the and me, and thy wyfe Faustyne: for my dedes are but in suspect, and yours are openly knowen in dede: myn are secrete, and yours are euident: I haue stöbled, but ye haue fallen: Of one thing alone I haue merited to be chastised, but ye haue deserued no forgyuenes: My dishonour is deed with the faut, and is buried with myn amendmēt, but your infamie is bozne with your desyzes, and is brought bp with your wylles, and lyueth styll with your werkes: finally therfore your infamie shall neuer dye, for you lyued neuer well. O malicious Marcus, with all that thou knowest, wotest thou not, that for losynge of a good name, an yll fame is reco-uered: and in the ende of a good lyfe, begynneth a good faame? Thou ceasest not to save ylle onely by suspicion, the whiche thy false iugementes shewe the, and yet thou woldest we shulde not speake that we se with our eyes. Of one thyng be thou sure, that neyther of the, nor of thy wyfe Faustine there is no false wytnesse: for the trouth is so euident, that there nedeth not to inuent any lies. Thou sayst, that it is an old quarel of amorous ladies of Rome, that in takinge fro many we are the poozest of all other, bycause we fayle in credence, we are honoured for syluer. It is of certayntie, that we mistrust the hollie bicause of his prickes, the acornes, for his hulkes, the roses amōge nettys, and thy mouth for thy malyce. I haue curiously taken hede that thou neuer saydest well by women, nor I neuer coude fynde, that any wolde the good. What gret-

ter

St.iii.

ter correction shuld I haue of thy wyckednes, or moze ven-
 geance for myn iniuries, but to be certayn, that all the lo-
 uynge ladies of Rome are sorow of thy lyfe, and wolde be
 glad of thy dethe. The lyfe of that man is wycked, that
many bewayle, and in whose dethe euery body reioyseth.
 It is the propertie of pooze vnkynde persons as thou art,
 to forgette the great goodnesse done to them, and to be so-
 ry for the lyttell that they gyue. As moche as noble hartis
 glozifye them in gyuyng to other, so moche are they asha-
 med to receyue seruices vnrewarded. For in giuinge they
 make them selfe lordes, and in receyuyng they are as sla-
 ues. I wolde wyte what thou haste gyuen me, or what
 thou haste receyued of me? I haue aduentured my good
 name, and giuen the possession of my personne: I haue
 made the lord and mayster of al my goodes: I haue ba-
 nyshed my selfe out of my countrey, and putte my selfe in
 peryll only for thy sake, and in recompence of al this, thou
 reprochest me now of miserie. Thou neuer gauest me any
 thing with thy good wyl, nor I neuer receyued it willing-
 ly, nor it dyd me neuer profyt. Al thinges recouer a name,
 not for the common werke that we see, but for the secrete
 intention with whiche we worke. And thou vnhappy
 man desirest me, not to enioy my persone, but rather to
 haue my money. We ought not to cal the a clere louer, but
 a thefe, & a wylly see rouer. I had a lytel ryng of the, whi-
 che I am determyned to caste into the ryuer, and the clo-
 thyng that I had of the I haue bent in the fire. And yf
 that my body were any thyng amedded with the bread that
 I haue eaten of thyn, I wold cutte my fleshe, and let out
 the blode without any feare. O cursed Marke, thy darke
 malycie wolde not suffre the clerely to vnderstande my let-
 ter: for I entended not to aske moneye, to releue my po-
 uertie and solytarynesse, but rekowlegynge and than-
 kynge

kyng to satisfie my wyllynge herte. The bayne and couetous menne as thou arte thy selfe, are pleased with gistes, but the hartes incarnate in loue are lyttell satisfied with syluer. For loue onely is payed with loue agayne.

The manne that loueth not as a manne of reasone, but as a brute beast, and the woman that loueth not but for the interest of her person: suche ought not to be trusted in their wordes, nor their persones desyred. For the loue of her endeth, whan the goodes fayle: and the loue of hym, whan her beautie fayleth. If thy loue proceded onely of the beautie of my face, and my loue only for the money of thy pors: it were not ryghte, that we were called wylse louers but rather very nyce persones. O wycked Marke, I neuer loued the for thy goodes, though thou louedst me for my beautie: with all my hart I loued the than, & with all my hart I hate the now. Thou sayst, the goddes haue shewed me great pitie, to gyue me fewe chyldren, and to them many fathers. The greatest malice in women is to be vnschamefast, and the moste vilanie in men is to be pilsayers. Dyuers thiges ought to be suffered for the fragilityte of women, whiche are not permytted in the wysedom of men. I say this bycause I neuer sawe temperaunce in the for to couer thyn owne malyses, nor wysedome to excuse the debilities of other. Thou sayest, that my sonnes haue dyuers fathers. I were vnto the, that though thou dye, the chylderne of Faustyne shall not be fatherles. And of trouthe yf the goddis (as thou sayest) haue be pytiefull to my chyldren, no lesse arte thou to straunge chyldren. For Faustin kepeth the but to excuse her blame, & to be tatour of her chyldren. O cursed Marc, thou mayst wel enioy and take no thought, for thyn owne chylderne haue no nede to be married. For one thyng we are bounde, that is for the example the whiche thou doste gyue of thy patience:
For

For sithe thou suffrest Faustyne in so many infamtes, it is no great nede that we suffre any secretes in the. I say no moze at this tyme, makyng an ende of my letter, desyryng the ende of thy persone.

A letter sent by Marcus the emperour to Matrine a yonge mayden of Rome, of whom he was enamoured, seinge her at a wyndowe.

The. xviij. letter.



Marke the emperour, the very desirous, to the Matrine greatly desyred. I wote not if by good aduenture of myn yll aduenture or by yll aduenture of my good aduenture, I dyd see the of late at a wyndowe, where as thou heldest thyn armes as close as myn eien were spred abroad, that cursed be they for euer. For in beholdyng thy face my hart forthewith abode with the as prysoner. The begynninge of thy knowledge is the ende of my reason, and felynge of flyght. Of one trauayle cometh infinite trauayles to men, I say it, if I had not ben ydel, I had not gone oute of my house, and yf that I had not gone out of my howse, I hadde not gone oute in to the stretes, and if I had not passid through the strete, I had not sene the at thy wyndowe: and if I hadde not sene the at thy wyndowe, I had not desyred thy persone: and not desyryng thy person, I had not put thy name in so great peryll, nor my lyfe in trauayle, nor had giuen none occasion in al Rome to speke of vs. Of a trouth lady Matrine in this case I condemne my selfe, syth I wold beholde the. And thou woldest be saluted, sith thou desiredst to be sene. And syth thou were set as a whyte marke, it was no great meruayle that I shot with

with the arrowes of myn eies at the butte of thy beautie,
 with rollynge eies, with browes bent, wel coloured face,
 incarnate tethe, ruddy lyppes, crispe heares, handes set
 with rynges, clothed with a. M. maner of clothynge,
 bearynge purses full of swete smelles, and bracelettes ful
 of knackes, with perles and stones at the eares. Tell me
 what becometh of a woman with these thynges, that wyl
 shewe her selfe at a wyndowe? The mooste cause is, that
 I can esteeme or thynke therein, that sythe ye do shew your
 bodie openly to vs at the eie, that your wylle is, that we
 shulde knowe your desires secretely. And if it be so, as I
 asserme, that it is so, it semeth me madame Matrine, thou
 shuldest desire hym that desireth the, to informe hym that
 sercheth the, to answere hym that calleth the, & fele that he
 feleth, intende to hym that intendeth to the: and sythe I
 vnderstande the, vnderstande me, and vnderstande sythe
 thou doest not vnderstande. I am aduysed as I went by
 the strete Salaria to se theues putte to Iustice, myne eyen
 sawe the at a wyndowe, on whome dependeth all my de-
 syres. Thou doest moze Iustyce to me, than I to the the-
 ues, for I beinge at Iustice, thou haste iusticied the Iu-
 styce, & none dare peyne the. The gybet is not so cruell to
 them that neuer knew but yl doing, as thou art to me that
 neuer thought, but howe I myghte do the seruice. The
 theues suffre but one dethe, and thou makest me to suffre
 a. M. in a daye: In one houre the theues liues are ended,
 and I dye euery mynute: I drawe towarde deth wrong-
 fully, and they suffre for their fautes: I suffre an innocēt,
 they openly and I in secrete. What shall I saye moze to
 the? of trouthe they wepe watry droppes with their eies,
 bycause they dye, and I wepe teares of bloud in my hart,
 bycause I lyue. This is the difference, their tourmentes
 spredeth abrode thzough al their bodie, and I kepe myn
 C t togyder

to gether in my herte. O cruelle Matrine, I can not telle what Iustyce it is, to put men to deth that steale money, & suffre women lyue that robbe mennes hertes: If they eares be cut of, that pyke mennes purces, why are wome than pardoned, that robbe mennes inwarde hertes & entayles? By thy noblenes I pray the, and by the goddesse Venus I coniure the, eyther answere to my desyre, or els restore my herte agayn, whiche thou haste robbed fro me. I wolde thou kneweste the clere fayth of my herte, rather than this letter wryten with my hand. If myne aduenture were soo good, as to speake with the, & that thy loue were not ashamed therof, I wolde hope with the syght & spech to wyne that whiche I am in suspect to lese by my letter. The reason is, bycause thou herest my ylle and rude reasons redynge my letter. And if thou sawest me thou shuldeste se the cruell teares that I offre to the by my lyfe. I wolde my mouth coude publyshe myne enraged euylles, as my herte feleth, then I swere to the lady Matrine, that my greuous Dolor shulde awake thy small thought. And as thy beautie & mine affection hath made me thyn owne, the knowelege of my passion shuld make the myne. I desyre that thou shuldeste regarde the begynnynge, and therewith regarde the ende. Certaynly the same day that thou enprysonedst my herte at thy wyndowe, in the doungeon of my desyres, I had no lesse weykenesse to be ouercome, thanne thou haddeste force to constrayne me. And moze greater is thy power to put thy selfe from me, thanne my reason is to put me fro the. I are noo mercye of the, but that we myghte declare oure wylles together. But in this case what wylte thou that I shulde say, but that thou hast so moche power ouer me, and I so lytel of my liberte, that wyl I nyl I my herte can not be but thyne: And hit beyng thyne, thou mayste and wylt not declare thy selfe to

to be myn. And sith it may nat be, but that my life must be condemned in thy seruyce, be thou as sure of my fayth as I am doutefull of thy hope: For I shall haue a greater welthe to be losse for thy sake, thanne to wyne any other thyng. I wyll say no more atte this tyme, but that thou accompte my perdition and dethe, and drawe the lyfe of my teares in to open ioye: And by cause that I holde my fayth in thy fayth, and wyll neuer despayre in thy hope, I sende to the. x. lytell rynges of gold, with. x. stones of Alexandry: And I coniure the by the mortall goddes, that whanne thou doest put theym on thy fyngres, to sette me in thy herte and entrayles. Marcus amorous wrote this with his owne hande.

CAn other letter sente by Marc the emperoure to the sayd gentylwoman Matryne.

The. xviij. letter.



Arke habytaunt atte Rome, to the Matryne his ryghte swete enemy. I call the swete, for it is Iust that I dye for the. And I call the enemy, bycause thou makest not an ende to slee me. I can not tel wherin it is, but sythe the feast of Iano hytherto, I haue wryten thre letters to the: And to the answer of them I wolde that I had seen two letters from the, if it were thy pleasure. If that I serue the, thou woldest that I shuld not serue: if I speke, thou wylt not speke to me: if I loke at the, thou wylt not beholde me: if I cal the, thou wylt not answer: if I visite þ, thou wylt not se me, if I wryte to the, thou wilt giue me none answer, And worst of al, yf other do shewe the of my dolours, thou makest but a mocke therof, And if I had as moch knowlege,

C. ii,

where

M A R C V S

where to complayne to the, as thou hast power to remedy the playntyfe, my wysedome shulde no lesse be praysed amonge wyle men, than thy beautie is amonge fooles. I pray the hartely regarde not the contrarieties of my reasons, but regarde the faythe of my wepynges, the whiche in wytnesse of my peynes I do gyue vnto the. I wote not what good may come to the of my harmes: no: what wpynyng of my losse thou shuldest hope to gette: no: what suretie of my perylle thou shulde attayne vnto: no: what pleasure of my displeasure thou mayst haue. I haue had aunswere of my messenger, that without redyng of my letters, thou hast with thy handes tozen them all to pieces. It ought to suffice the to thynke, that my person were hewen in quarters, yet I wolde thou haddest redde these small lynes lady Matrine: for by them thou shuldest haue sene, howe my thoughtes were troubled. ye women are so extreme that for faut of one man, a womā wyll complayn of all other men in generall, so that ye be cruel for one particular cause. Openly ye pardone all mens lyues, and in secrete ye procure euery mans dethe. I esteeme it nothyng of dame Matrine that thou haste done: but I lament me of that thou demaundedst Valerius thy neyghbour to save to me. One thyng I wolde thou haddest in memorie and not forgot, and that is, lithe that my lybertie is so small, and thy power so great, bycause I beinge all holly myne owne, I am tourned to be thyn, that thou shuldest thinke, that whan thou woldest iniurie me, thou shuldest do most iniurie to thy selfe, sythe that by the I dye, as thou by me doste lyue. In this yll purpose perseuer not, for thou dost aduenture the lyfe of vs bothe. Thou damnest thy condition, and distroyst my helth, and finally thou must come to the medicine. Forgiue me dame Matrine, if I say any malyce to the, that is, I knowe that ye women desyre one thyng,

thyng, and kepe vs in dꝛede, that it shoulde not come by her thought. Thou were wont to be wel condicioned, and at least though thou doest not put it in bre, yet thou haste the same therof: and an ancient fame ought not to be left for a newe unkyndnes. Thou knowest wel, what contraynesse dothe vngentylnesse to the vertues in vertuous houses, and thou canst not be called vertuous, but if thou be gentyll and courteyse. There is no gretter unkyndnes, than to loue her that loueth not me: That I visite the, and thou visitest not me, that I speake to the, & thou speakest not to me is nothyng, that I knowlege the, & thou wylt not know me is nothyng, though I wepe and thou laugh is nothyng, though I demaunde, and thou denyest is nothyng, though thou owe me, and neuer paye, yet it is nothyng: but where as I loue the and thou not me is a great thyng: that thyng that can not be dissimuled with the eies, nor the hart suffre all the byces amonge mortall creatures, it is reason that they be forgyuen, bycause they are comytted by nature, saue onely the unlouynge of women, and the unkyndnesse of men, whiche are byces comytted of malyce. After dyuers seruices by me done to the, and moche moze that I haue to do hereafter, thou Matryne mayste all onely pay me with one thyng. I pray the refuse not to gyue me remedy, sythe I haue not offred me in the peryll. If thou say, that Patroclus thy spouse hath the propretye ouer the, yet at leaste receyue me to the profe, and I shall pretende possession of the. And in this wise in the bayneglozie to be thyn, shal couer the damage not to be myn. Thou makest me to meruayle soze, howe for so small a mercy and rewarde thou can suffre suche importunitie so longe. For certayne many thinges we grant to an importunate manne, the whiche are not graunted to a temperate man. If thou hopest to ouercome me Ma-

tryne,

Et.iii.

tryne, I holde my selfe banquysched, if thou wylte lose me, I holde me for losse, if thou wyl sle me, I yeld my self as deade. For by the gesture that I make afore thy gate, and the syghes that I make in myn owne hous, are gretly myne to resyste, and the greuous assault of the, be edyffices moze to sommon dethe, than to defende the lyfe: yf thou wylt that I scape this daunger, deny me not the remedy, bycause it shalbe a gretter vyce in the to sle me, than vilany to gyue me remedy. And it were no iuste thyng for so small a pryce to lose the fayth of so gret seruyce. I wote not what to do, to make the my debtour, and thou to paye me. And yet worst of al, I wote not what to do, nor what to thinke nor to say, nor to whom to determine me, bicause I can not assure any profyte in me, but to be certayne in thy seruices. And bicause thou doste truste hym that hath done this message, by hym I do send this open letter, and my secrete aunswere. I do sende the a iewel of perles, and a besant of golde. To the goddis I do comende the. And I require the for to receyue it with as good a wylle as I do present it vnto the. Marc the oratour to the right honorable Matryne.

A letter sent by Marc the emperour to Lybia a fayre lady Romaine.

The. xix. letter.



Arke full of sorowe and penyfenes to the Lybia takynge but lyttell thought or care: yf thy small thought passed any thyng on me, and also yf my troubles and dolours were lodged and dydde reste in the, than thou shuldest perceyue and se howe smalle the quarell were, the whiche I make to the, in respecte of the

the tourment that I doo suffre, yf the blasinge flames issued out, as the fyred bzondes doo brenne me within, the smoke wolde reache to the heuens, and make ymbres of the erthe: yf thou doest well remembre the fyrst tyme that I sawe the in the temple of the virgins bestales, thou beinge there prayed to the goddis for thy selfe, and I on my knees prayed the for my selfe. I knowe well thou offredst honny and oyle to the goddis, and I offred to the soore wepynges and syghes. It is a iuste thynge to gyue moze to hym that offreth his inwarde entayles, than to hym that draweth money out of his purse to offre. I haue determined, and disposed me, to write to the this letter, that thou shuldest se how thou arte serued with the arowes of myne eyes, that were shotte at the whyte of thy seruyces. Alas, howe sorowful am I to thynke, least the calme tyme now, dothe thzeten me with the tempest to come. I wyl say, that disloue in the, causeth the hope doubtfull in me. Beholde what mysaduenture, I had losse a letter, and I retourned to the temple to seke for it, but I had nere lost my self, in going thither so often, cōsydering my smal merite. I se well, that myn eyes the ladders of my hope, are set on soohye a walle, that no lesse is the doubte of my fal, than the daunger of the clymmyng vp. Thou bowynge downe the leaues of thy high merytes, haste broughte me to the poynt of continuall seruice. Lette me haue the fruite, and giue the leaues to whome thou wylte: By the immortalle goddis, I haue great meruayle, by cause I thought that in the temple of the virgins bestales, no manne shoulde haue hadde temptations. But as nowe I do fynde by experience, that the woman is moze lyberall and sooner overcome, that is fast and straytly kept and watched than other. All the corporalle damages are fyrste harde of, er they be knowen, and knowen er sene, and sene er they be felte,

felte, and felte er they be tasted, yet it is not so in loue. For
 firste they fele the stroke therof, er they se the way howe it
 cometh. The lyghtnyng is not so sodeyne, but it is secne
 afore the thonder clappe, nor the wal falleth not so sodein-
 ly, but fyrste some stones do bzeke asonder, nor the colde
 cometh not so faste on, but some smal sheueringes cometh
 befoze: but all onely loue is not felt tyll it be settled in the
 entrayles. Let euery man knowe it that knowe it not, and
 thou lady Libie if thou wyl knowe: Loue slepeth whan
 we wake, and waketh whan we slepe, and laugheth whan
 we wepe, and wepeth whan we laugh: It assureth in ta-
 kyng, and taketh in assuringe: And speketh whan we be
 styll, and is styll whan we speke: And finally it is of that
 condicion, that for to gyue vs that we desyre, hit causeth
 vs to lyue in peyne. If I were to the, whan my wyl became
 thy seruaunte, and thy beautie caused that thou were my
 lady, whan I was in the temple and retoined agayne thi-
 ther, not desyryng the, thou beheldeste me, and I as vn-
 happy loked on the. But O what a thoughte came to me
 that my herte beyng hole, thou haste deuyded, beinge in
 helth thou haste hurte, beinge aliue thou haste slayne, be-
 yng myn thou haste stollen it, and that worste of al is, not
 helpyng to my lyfe, thou consentest that loue assaile me
 to the deth. Many tymes ladye Libya consyderyng that
 al my thoughtes ben hyghe and my fortune lowe, I wold
 haue seperate my selfe fro the, But consyderyng that my
 trauayles are well applyed in thy seruyces, I say though
 I myghte I wille not be seperate fro the. I will not denie
 one thinge, and that is, that cursed loue taketh away the
 taste of al thinges, and yet therby alonely it gyueth vs ap-
 petite, the whiche giueth vs moche yll prouffite. This is
 the profe of him that loueth hertily. For one disfaouour of
 them that is beloued, is moze than all the fauoure of this
 lyfe

lyfe. I thinke lady Libia thou art gretly abashed to se me outwarde as a philosopher, and to knowe me inwarde a secrete louer. I praye the Lybia discouer me not: For yf that the goddis gyue me longe lyfe, I am mynded for to amende. And thoughe I be atte this houre but a yonge foole in the arte of loue, whan I am olde I shall be wise: the goddis knowe what I desire, and the force that I do enforce me to: but as the fleshe is weake and the hart tendre, and hath many occasions and fewe vertues, and the worlde subtyll, and the people malicious, I passe this begynnyng and spring of floures, with hope that in haruest I shall haue some fruite. Dame Lybia doest thou thinke, that philosophers though they were neuer so sage, be not stryken with the cruelties of loue? and that vnder theyr cours clothes their fleshe is not smoth? Certaynly amōge the hard bones soft fleshe is bredde, vnder the sharpe huskes the chestnutte is nourysed. I saye that vnder cours apparell, is true and perfyte loue. I deny not but that our lacke nature resysteth not with vertues, nor I deny not, but there be yonge wāton desyres, not repressed with vertuous purposes: I deny not, but that the bytte of youthe is not reftreyned with the byrdell of reason: I denye not, but that that the fleshe procureth, is dyuers tymes withstande by wysedome. And also I knowlege well, that he that is not amorous, is a foole. And thou knowest, that thoughe we be wyse, we leaue not therefore to be men. All that euer we lerne in all our lyues, suffiseth not to knowe howe to rule the fleshe one houre. To wyse men in this case hathe fallen many errours: there be many maysters in vertues, and many moo hath bene, and yet they haue ben ouercome with vices, wherfore than doest thou meruaile of me alone? I confesse of trouthe, that I had neuer myne vnderstondynge so clere, as whan Cupyde fan-

Ub

ned

ned wynd on me with his winges. There was neuer none
 vnto my tyme, that euer was noted wyse, but first he was
 a prisoner & bound with the loue of Cuppyde. Gratian was
 amorous on Tamy: Solon Salamin⁹ gyuer of the la-
 wes, was amorous of Greecyane: Pytacus Mitelenus
 leste his owne wyfe, and was enamoured of a bondwoma,
 that he broughte fro the warres. Cleobolus the curyan,
 whan he was ful. xliiii. yere olde, and had red philosophy
 xlv. yere, scalyng the house of his neyghbour, fel of the
 ladder, and dyed: Periander prince of Acape, and a great
 philosopher of Grece, at y prayer of one of his louers slew
 his wyfe: Anacharces a philosopher a Scitean of his fa-
 ther syde, and a greke of his mother syde, was so enamo-
 red of a woman of Thebes, that he taught her al his cou-
 nyng, and whan he was sycke in his bedde, she redde in
 the schole for hym: Epimenides of Crete, that slepte. xv.
 yeres without waking, and though he was. x. yere a gret
 wo:shypper of the goddis, yet he was banyshe from A-
 thenes for the loue of women: Archyta Tarentyn, may-
 ster of Plato, and disciple of Pythagoras, occupied his
 mynde moze to inuent the kyndes of loue, than his forces
 in doctrines of vertues: Gorgio Cleontino, borne in Sy-
 cyll, kepte rather concubines in his chambze, than bokes
 in the scholes. All these were wyse men, and yet we maye
 se, howe at the laste they were ouercome with the fleshe.
 Than blame not me alone: for as I haue tolde of so fewe
 in noumbze, so I cou: receyte of other a holle armye. Of
 trouthe he ought to haue many thynges, that wyll be ta-
 ken as curious in loue. He muste haue his eien displayed
 on her that he loueth, his vnderstandynge soze altered in
 that he thinketh, his tonge troubled in that he shuld say:
 So that in feynge he be blynded, in thoughtes wandring,
 and in speakynge troubled. O lady Libia, the lounge in
 mocke-

mockerye passeth by mockerie: but where as the true hert is, there is the grefe and no mockerie. Loue shedeth her poyson, and cruelle Cuppydo fyreth his arowes byppe to the fethers. Than the eyen wepe, the herte sygheth, the fleshe tymbbleth, the synewes shynke: the vnderstandynge wareth grosse, reason fayleth, and so all falleth to the erthe, soo that finally the heuye loue abidyng in him selfe, holdeth lyttell or nothyng of hym selfe. All this I say bycause that knowlege to loue fayleth in me: yet be ye sure, that the woꝝkes fayle me not to woꝝke in thy seruice. And sithe hit was my aduenture to se the, nowe it is my chaunce to knowe the, I demaunde nothyng els of the, but that thou wylte loue me trewely, syth I loue the without feynynge. And yf thou haste herde, that I am sycke at my harte, I desyre the to do me some good: for sythe it is all onely in the, it is reason that thou all onely seke for remedy. I was greatly comforted, whan Fabius Carlynus desyred me in thy behalfe to be a prisoner, and I dyd incontinent all that thou dyddest desyre, to the intent that thou on some day shuldest do that I desyre. And beholde lady Lybia, the woman that is serued with seruyces, it is reason that she receyue some prayers. And thoughe my strengthes haue no power to open the gates of thy purpose, as nat to agree to thy demaunde, yet all my labours be bycause of thy renowme. I praye the discouer not the one, nor begyle me nat with the other. For now thou seest that in grauntinge is remedy, and in truste is comforte, but promesse is decepuable, the delayenge is peryllous, and the entreatynge byndeth. I se verue welle, that the hasty demaunde deserueth a longe aunswere: but I wold not that thou shuldest do soo: but as I desyre the, so desyre me. I saye agayne, I am all thynne, and not myne owne. And as for my selfe in all thinges I wyll serue the.

Ab.ii.

And

And lady Libia regarde, that it were as moch honour for the, as profytable for me, to tourne thy disordinate desires and purposes. For thou seest well it is moche better to heale shortly than to late with saylynge of thy purpose. All women kepe one daungerous opinion, that is, they wyll neuer receyue counsell that is gyuen them in a great cause: and if it be so, as I thynke, sithe thou art praysed and esteemed of great beautie, than be esteemed to receyue good counsell. And in this maner in case that my damage be very great, and thy pacience very lyttell, I shalbe called wyle to gyue the suche coudcell, and thou ryght gracious to folowe it. One thyng I saye: and pardone me, though I shewe it to the, howe that women be greatly infamed, that wyll take no counsaile, and suche as wyll assure their renowme by the opinyon of other, as moche as though they were determined so to do their selfe. Wherefore I wolde ye shuld do one thing for an other, as I counsaile you. And yf thou fyndest any yll therby, withdraue thy hande. I wyll say no moze to the, but that I do present to the al my vnhappy troubles, my desperate syghes, and my seruyces as thy seruaunt. My troubled dolours, my wordes of philosophy, and my amorous teares. Also I sende the a gyrdille of golde, and I gyue it the on the condicyon, that thou sette thyn eies thereon, and apply thy harte to me. I praye the goddis to giue me to the, and the to me. Marcus Aurelius the philosopher writeth this in very great secrete.

THUS ENDETH THIS GOLDEN Boke of the eloquent Marc Aurelie emperour: who so euer be reader therof may take it by reason for a ryche and a newe labour, and specially princis and gouernours of the common welth, and mynisters of iustice, with other. Also the common people eche of them maye finde the labour convenient

uenient to theyr estate. And therin is conteyned certayne right high and profounde sentences, and holson counselles, and meruaylous deuyses ageynste thencumbrance of fortune: and right swete consolations for them that are ouerthrowen by fortune. Finally it is good to them that digest it, and thanke god that hath gyuen suche grace to a papnym, in gyuyng vs example of vertuous lyuyng, with hye and salutarie doctrines and meruaylous instructions of perfectnes. Certainly as great prayse as ought to be gyuen to the auctour, is to be gyuen to the translators, that haue labozously reduced this treatyse oute of Greke into latyn, and out of latyn into Castilian, and out of Castilian into frenche, and out of frenche in englyshe, wryten in high and swete styles. O right happy trauayle, sythe that suche fruyte is issued therof. And also blessyd be the handes that haue wrytten hit. A ryghte precious meate is the sentences of this boke: But finally the sauce of the sayd swete style moueth the appetite. Many bokes there be of substanciall meates, but they be so rude and so vsauery, and the style of so small grace, that the

fyyste morselle is lothesome and noyfull: And of

such bokes foloweth to lye hole and sounde

in Lybraries, but I truste this wyll

not. Of trouthe great prayse is

due to the auctour for his

trauayle. And syth

there can be no

grace equi-

polent

in erthe, lette vs praye to god to

gyue hym grace and reward

in heuen. Amen.

Graces to god,

FINIS.

*Printing invented in Germany
by John Guttenberg. --- 1458
Brought into England --- 1471*

¶ Thus endeth the volume of Marke Aurelie empe-
rour, otherwyle called the golden boke, translated out of
Frenche into englyshe by John Bouchier knyghte
lorde Barners, deputie generall of the kynges
towne of Caleys and marches of the same,
at the instant desyre of his neuewe sye
Francis Bryan knyght, ended
at Caleys the tenth day of
Marche, in the yere
of the reygne
of oure
Soueraygne lorde kynge
Henrye the. VIII.
the. XXIII.

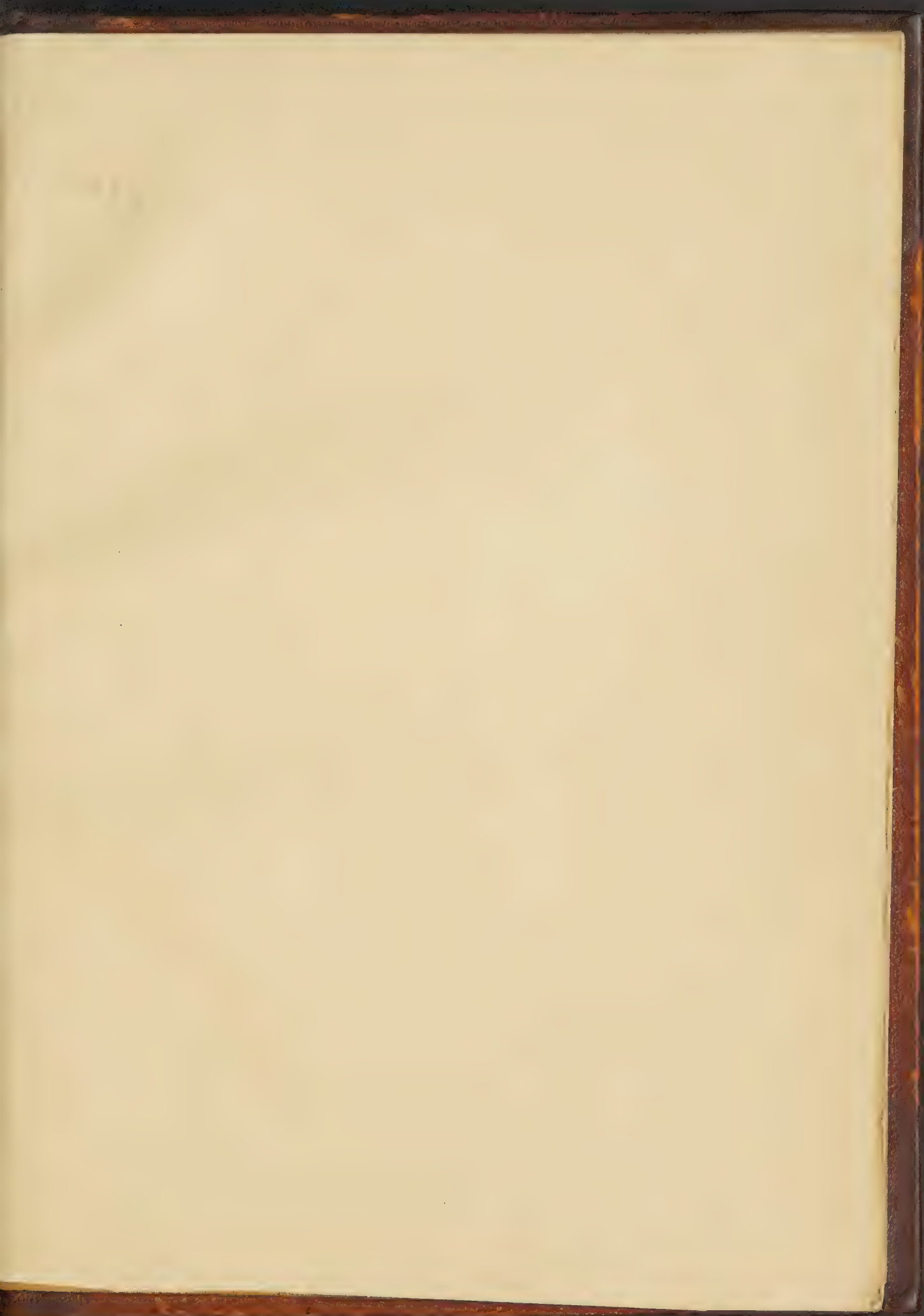
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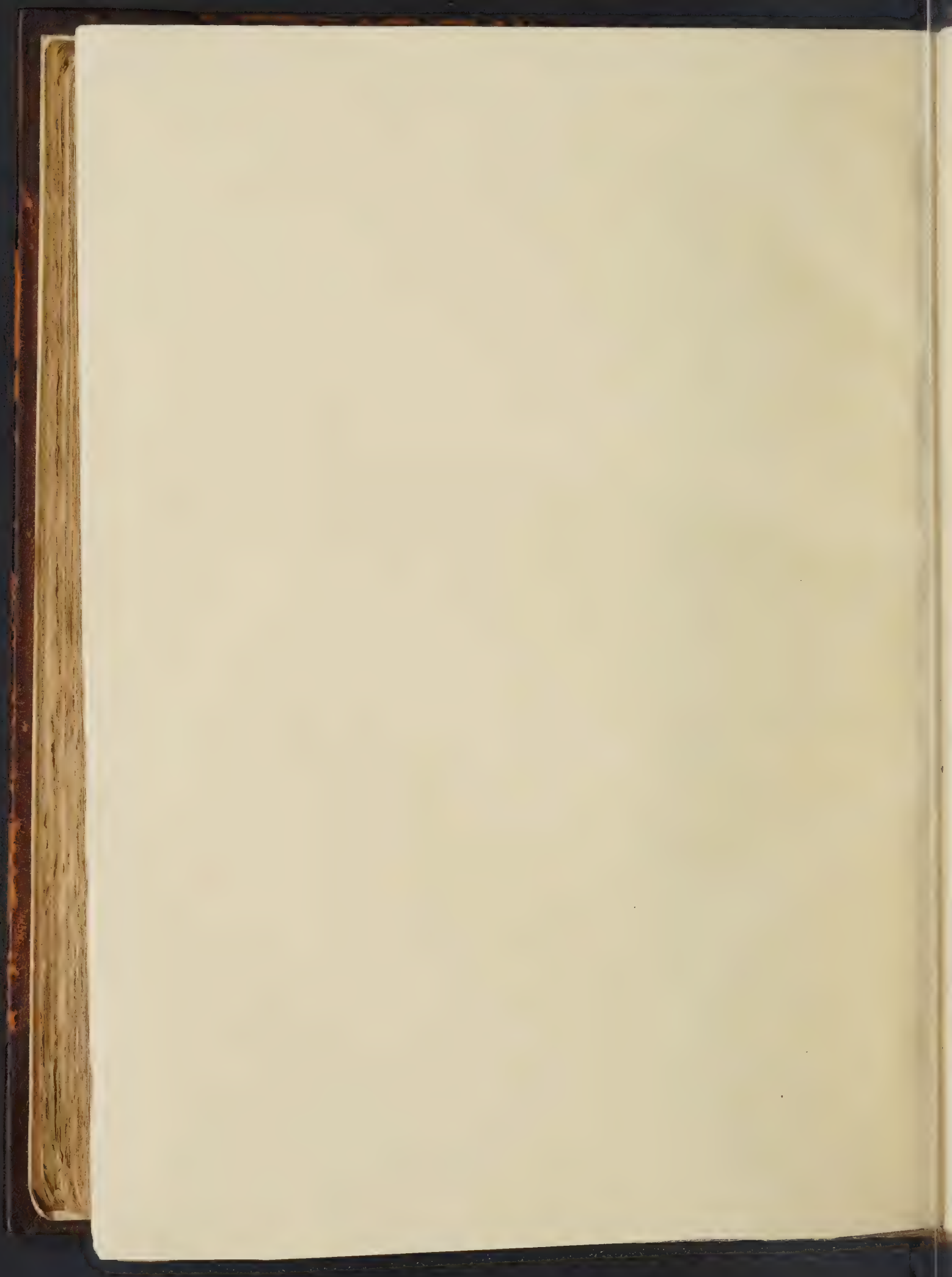
LONDINI IN AEDIBVS THO.
MAE BERTHELETI RE.
GII IMPRESSORIS.
CVM PRIVILEGIO A RE.
GE INDVLT.

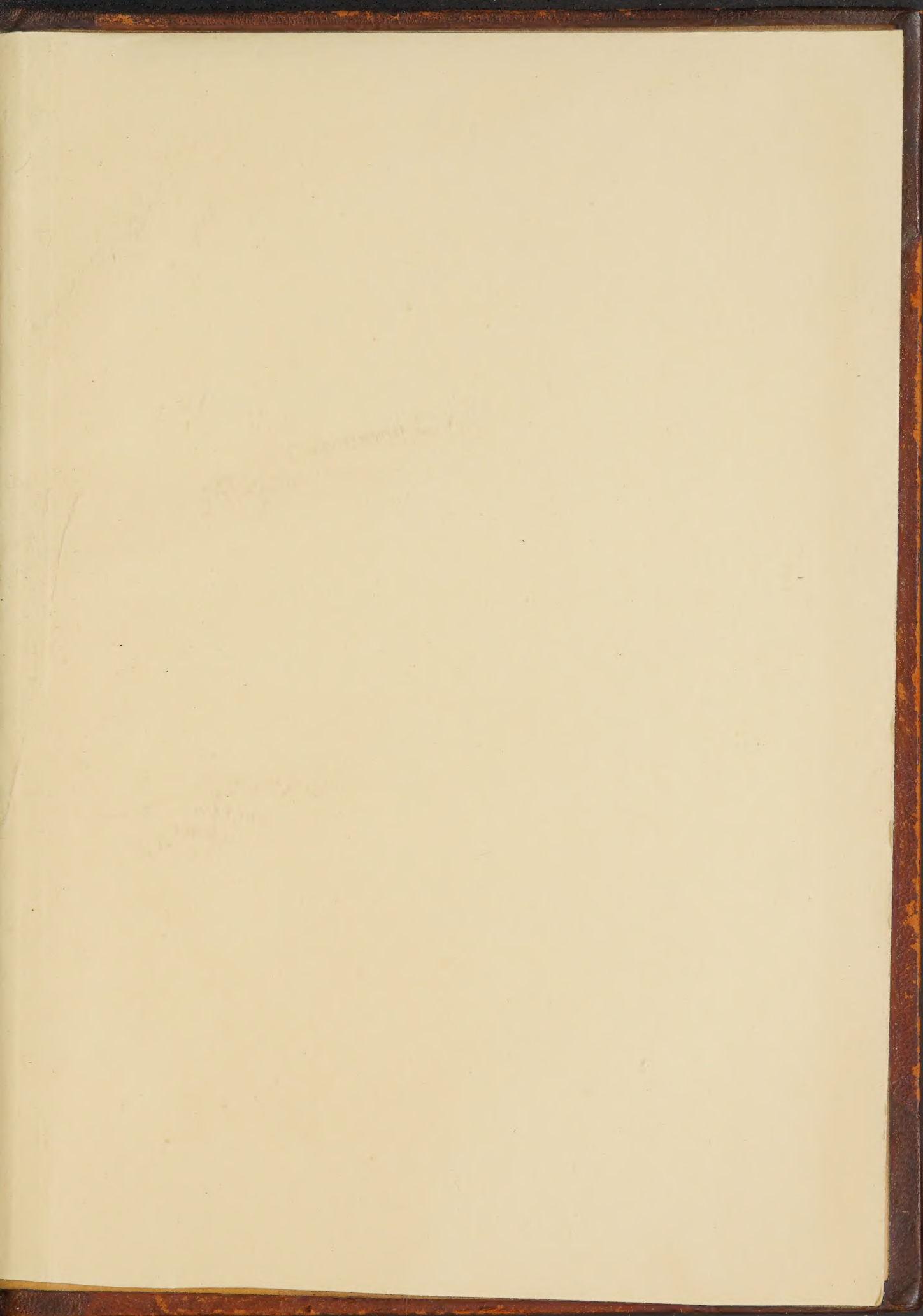
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